

SPECIAL CAMPAIGN NUMBER

# Congressional Digest



Washington, D. C.

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VOLUME III

July-August, 1924

NUMBERS 10-11

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**The Political Issues of 1924**

**The Organization and 1924 Platforms of All National Political Parties**

*with*

**The Records of Their Presidential Nominees**

**How the President is Elected Explained Step by Step**

**An Account of the First Election**

**The Origin of Political Parties**

**Historical Notes on Former Presidents**

**The Election of the 69th Congress**

**Dates and Latest Returns from the State Primaries**

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# The Congressional Digest

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# The Congressional Digest

Volume III

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## The President of the United States of America

### His Powers, Duties, and Manner of Election as Provided by the Constitution

THE provisions of the Constitution setting forth the powers and duties of the Chief Executive and the manner of his election are as follows:

*Article II, Section 1.* The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

\*[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or

Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.]

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

*Section 2.* The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power

\*This paragraph has been superseded by Amendment XII, which is printed in full following Section 4.

The twelfth amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the several States, there being then seventeen States, by a resolution of Congress passed on the 12th of December, 1803, at the first session of the Eighth Congress, and was ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the States in 1804, according to a proclamation of the Secretary of State dated the 25th of September, 1804.

to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law; but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

**Section 3.** He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extra-ordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

**Section 4.** The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

#### Amendment XII

The electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the persons voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President,

and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

In the January and February, 1924, numbers of THE CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST (vol. 3, nos. 4 and 5) appeared two articles on "The Executive" being the tenth and eleventh articles of a series of twelve articles entitled "Notes on the Constitution" by the Hon. Wm. Tyler Page, Clerk of the House of Representatives of the United States. These "Notes" set forth the fundamental principles of the United States Government as prescribed in the Constitution.

## An Account of the First Election

By the Electoral College, February 4, 1789

From "A History of the Presidency," by Edward Stanwood

*WASHINGTON stands alone and unapproachable, like a snow-peak rising above its fellows into the clear air of morning, with a dignity, constancy, and purity which have made him the ideal type of civic virtue to succeeding generations. No greater benefit could have befallen the Republic than to have such a type set from the first before the eye and mind of the people.—JAMES BRYCE, The American Commonwealth*

THE Constitution having become operative, it was the duty of the Congress of the Confederation, in obedience both to the advice of the Convention of 1787 and to its own resolution, to fix the time when the new government should come into being. On September 13, 1788,—New York City having been chosen as the temporary seat of government,—a resolution was passed, reciting in a preamble that a sufficient number of States

had ratified the Constitution, and directing that electors of President and Vice-President should be appointed on the first Wednesday in January, 1789, that they should meet in their respective States and give in their votes on the first Wednesday in February, and that the new Congress should meet in New York on the first Wednesday in March.

• • • • •  
The electors were, as the Constitution contemplated

that they should be, free agents in the choice of President and Vice-President. Yet public opinion governed their action to a far greater degree than might have been anticipated in the discharge of a perfectly new function. One name, indeed, came spontaneously to the thoughts of all. The newspapers of the time and the private letters of statesmen show that it was universally regarded as fitting that George Washington should be President. It was from the first accepted as the obvious and proper course to give him a unanimous vote.

Since Washington was a citizen of a Southern State, it was deemed just to take the Vice-President from the North. These considerations, restricting the choice, were recognized early in the discussion. Hamilton was a most conspicuous leader of Federalist opinion; but he had not attained the age of thirty-five years, and therefore was not eligible to the office. A candidate from New England was indicated as desirable. John Adams was as conspicuous a figure in public life as any man in New England.

The following article appeared in a Philadelphia paper under date of October 8, 1788, three months prior to the choice of electors:

The electors of President of the United States on the part of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania are to meet in the borough of Reading, where it is universally hoped and expected that one more tribute of merited approbation will be given to George Washington, Esq., by their unanimous suffrages. Of the several respected candidates in nomination for Vice-President, circumstances seem most in favor of John Adams, Esq. Mr. Adams is perfectly at leisure to fill a seat for which nature, education, and the experience of several years and various courts in Europe have eminently and peculiarly qualified him.

[In reply to an inquiry as to whether Mr. Adams would be acceptable to Washington as Vice-President, a statement was issued from Mount Vernon as follows:]

Having taken it for granted that the person elected for that important place would be a true Federalist, in that case he was altogether disposed to acquiesce in the prevailing sentiments of the electors, without giving any unbecoming preference, or incurring any unnecessary ill-will.

Under the Constitution the thirteen States were entitled to sixty-five Representatives and twenty-six Senators; and consequently to ninety-one electoral votes. Rhode Island and North Carolina, with three and seven votes, respectively, had not adopted the Constitution; the eight votes of New York were lost; and two electors of Maryland and two of Virginia failed to appear on the day of voting—the 4th of February. It was explained that the ice in the rivers and bay prevented one of the absent Maryland electors from attending, and gout held the other at home.

The electoral votes were sixty-nine in number, and were cast as follows:

STATES	George Washington	John Adams	Samuel Huntington	John Jay	John Hancock	Robert H. Harrison	George Clinton	John Rutledge	John Milton	James Armstrong	Edward Telfair	Benjamin Lincoln
New Hampshire	5	5										
Massachusetts	10	10										
Connecticut	7	5	2									
New Jersey	6	5	1	5								
Pennsylvania	10	8			2							
Delaware	3			3								
Maryland	6					6						
Virginia	10	5		1	1		3					
South Carolina	7				1			6				
Georgia	5								2	1	1	1
Total	69	34	2	9	4	6	3	6	2	1	1	1

It may be well to note that, excepting John Jay and George Clinton, of New York, and John Hancock, of Massachusetts, all the "scattering" candidates for Vice-President were "favorite sons" of the States which gave them votes. Georgia, in particular, distinguished itself by discovering four of its own citizens worthy to be placed second to Washington.

The consummation of the election of General Washington was an occasion of solemn joy throughout the country. The accounts of the voting are meagre. One description only of the scene has been found. In Massachusetts the electors had their ballots, for Washington and Adams, prepared before they came together. Having organized, they voted quickly and adjourned. "There was not a word spoken," reports the Worcester "Spy," "except in the choice of a chairman." Many of the newspapers expressed their feelings in the exuberant rhetoric of the day, when the election had taken place. Here is one example from Baltimore:

The important day in the annals of America is past. Perhaps that day has exhibited what has never happened before in any part of the globe; above three millions of people, scattered over a country of vast extent, of opposite habits and different manners, all fixing their hopes on the same man, and unanimously voting for him only, without the intervention of force, artifice, plan, or concert. With what delight will the lover of mankind dwell on this period of history and cherish the memory of a people, who could thus feel and thus reward a life of great and virtuous actions.

## The Origin of Political Parties in the United States

From "The American Commonwealth," by James Bryce

WHEN the machinery had been set in motion by the choice of George Washington as President, and with him of a Senate and a House of Representatives, the tendencies which had opposed or supported the adoption of the Constitution reappeared not only in Congress but in the President's cabinet, where Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, counselled a line of action which assumed and required the exercise of large powers by the Federal government, while Jefferson, the secretary of state, desired to practically restrict its action to foreign affairs. The advocates of a central national authority had begun to receive the name of Federalists, and to act pretty constantly together, when an event happened which, while it tightened their union, finally consolidated their opponents also into a party. This was the creation of the French Republic and its declaration of war against England. The Federalists, who were

shocked by the excesses of the Terror of 1793, counselled neutrality, and were more than ever inclined to value the principle of authority, and to allow the Federal power a wide sphere of action. The party of Jefferson, who had now retired from the Administration, were pervaded by sympathy with French ideas, were hostile to England, and sought to restrict the interference of the central government with the States, and to allow the fullest play to the sentiment of State independence, of local independence, of personal independence. This party took the name of Republicans or Democratic Republicans, and they are the predecessors of the present Democrats. Both parties, were, of course, attached to Republican government—that is to say, were alike hostile to a monarchy. But the Jeffersonians had more faith in the masses, together with less respect for authority, so that in a sort of general way one may say that while one party claimed

to be the apostles of Liberty, the other represented the principle of Order.

Thus two parties grew up with tenets, leaders, impulses, sympathies, and hatreds, hatreds which soon became so bitter as not to spare the noble and dignified figure of Washington himself, whom the angry Republicans [Jefferson's Party] assailed with invectives the more unbefitting because his official position forbade him to reply.

At first the Federalists had the best of it, for the reaction against the weakness of the old Confederation which the Union had superseded disposed sensible men to tolerate a strong central power. The President, though not a member of either party, was, by force of circumstances, as well as owing to the influence of Hamilton, practically with the Federalists. When the presidential election of 1800 arrived, it was seen that the logical and oratorical force of Hamilton's appeals to the reason of the nation told far less than the skill and energy with which Jefferson played on their feelings and prejudices. The Republicans [Jefferson's Party] triumphed in the choice of their chief, who retained power for 8 years (he was reelected in 1804), to be peaceably succeeded by his friend Madison for another eight years (elected in 1808, reelected in 1812), and his disciple Monroe for eight years more (elected in 1816, reelected in 1820). Their long-continued tenure of office was due not so much to their own merits, for neither Jefferson nor Madison conducted foreign affairs with success, as to the collapse of their antagonists.

This period (1788-1824) may be said to constitute the first act in the drama of American party history.

Although the Federalists were in general the advocates of a loose and liberal construction of the fundamental instrument, because such a construction opened a wider sphere to Federal power, they were ready, whenever their local interests stood in the way, to resist Congress and the Executive, alleging that the latter were overstepping their jurisdiction. On the other hand, the Republicans [Jefferson's Party] did not hesitate to stretch to their utmost, when they were themselves in power, all the authority which the Constitution could be construed to allow to the Executive and the Federal government generally. The boldest step which a President has ever taken, the purchase from Napoleon of the vast territories of France west of the Mississippi which went by the name of Louisiana, was taken by Jefferson without the authority of Congress. Congress subsequently gave its sanction.

Two great parties were again formed (about 1830) which some few years later absorbed the minor groups. One of these two parties carried on, under the name of Democrats, the dogmas and traditions of the Jeffersonian

Republicans. It was the defender of State rights and of a restrictive construction of the Constitution; it leaned mainly on the South and the farming classes generally, and it was therefore inclined to free trade. The other section, which called itself at first the National Republican, ultimately the Whig party, represented many of the views of the former Federalists, such as their advocacy of a tariff for the protection of manufactures, and of the expenditure of public money on internal improvements.

A party has always had something definite and weighty to appeal to when it claims to represent either the autonomy of communities on the one hand, or the majesty and beneficent activity of the National government on the other. The former has been the watchword of the Democratic party. The latter was seldom distinctly avowed, but was generally in fact represented by the Federalists of the first period, the Whigs of the second, the Republicans of the third.

Jefferson carried further than any other person set in an equally responsible place has ever done, his faith that government is either needless or an evil, and that with enough liberty, everything will go well. An insurrection every few years, he said, must be looked for, and even desired, to keep government in order. The Jeffersonian tendency long remained, like a leaven, in the Democratic party, though in applying Jeffersonian doctrines the slaveholders stopped when they came to a black skin. Among the Federalists, and their successors the Whigs, and the more recent Republicans, there has never been wanting a full faith in the power of freedom. The Republicans gave an amazing proof of it when they bestowed the suffrage on the negroes. It is rather towards the Federalist-Whig-Republican party than towards the Democrats that those who have valued the principle of authority have been generally drawn. It is for that party that the Puritan spirit, once powerful in America, felt the greater affinity, for this spirit, having realized the sinfulness of human nature, is inclined to train and control the natural man by laws and force.

Religion comes very little into American party except when, as sometimes has happened, the advance of the Roman Catholic Church and the idea that she exerts her influence to secure benefits for herself, causes an outburst of Protestant feeling. Roman Catholics are usually Democrats, because, except in Maryland, which is Democratic anyhow, they are mainly Irish. Congregationalists and Unitarians, being presumably sprung from New England, are apt to be Republicans. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, have no special party affinities. They are mostly Republicans in the North, Democrats in the South.

## The Presidents of the United States, 1789-1924

### George Washington, 1732-1799.

Born, near Bridges Creek, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Informal; *Vocation*, Surveyor and Planter; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Federalist; *Term*: (2) 1789-1797: 1, 2, 3, 4 Congresses.

### John Adams, 1735-1826.

Born, Quincy, Mass.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Harvard College; *Vocation*, Teacher, Lawyer; *Religion*, Unitarian; *Politics*, Federalist; *Term*: (1) 1797-1801: 5, 6, Congresses.

### Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826.

Born, Shadwell, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Welsh; *Education*, William and Mary College, Va.; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Liberal; *Politics*, Democrat-Republican; *Term*: (2) 1801-1809: 7, 8, 9, and 10 Congresses.

### James Madison, 1751-1836.

Born, Port Conway, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Princeton College; *Vocation*, Lawyer; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Democrat-Republican; *Term*: (2) 1809-1817: 11, 12, 13, 14 Congresses.

### James Monroe, 1758-1831.

Born, Westmoreland County, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch; *Education*, William and Mary College; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Democrat-Republican; *Term*: (2) 1817-1825: 15, 16, 17, 18 Congresses.

### John Quincy Adams, 1767-1848.

Born, Braintree, Mass.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Harvard College; *Vocation*, Lawyer, Publicist and Statesman; *Religion*, Unitarian; *Politics*, Federalist; *Term*: (1) 1825-1829: 19, 20 Congresses. —Continued on page 358

## How the President of the United States is Elected Today

### The Nomination

#### The Proceedings of a National Political Convention

THE national convention assembles on a call issued by the national committee. A meeting of this committee is held usually five or six months before the time for making presidential nominations. At this preliminary meeting, summoned by the call of the chairman, the place at which the coming convention is to be held is selected after the representatives of various cities have presented their claims, and the date for the opening of the great party assembly is fixed. When the national committee has thus decided upon the place and date of the convention, it issues a call to the party members and supporters inviting them to choose delegates and alternates, so that the party conference may be a representative body.

The national convention is composed of delegates from the states and territories. In prescribing the methods of electing delegates, the calls of the Democratic and Republican parties differ fundamentally. [The method followed in electing delegates to the 1924 national conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties is set forth in the following calls issued by the national committees respectively.]

#### Call for Republican National Convention of 1924

*Issued by Republican National Committee, December 12, 1923*

"In pursuance of the rules adopted by the Republican National Convention of 1920, the Republican National Committee directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in the City of Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, at eleven o'clock A. M., on Tuesday, the 10th day of June, 1924, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 4, 1924, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Voters of the several States and of Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia who are in accord with the principles of the Republican Party, believe in its declaration of policies, and are in sympathy with its aims and purposes, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of Delegates to said Convention.

Said National Convention shall consist of

##### (a) DELEGATES AT LARGE

1. Four Delegates-at-Large from each State.
2. Additional Delegates-at-Large for each Representative-at-Large in Congress from each State.
3. Two Delegates-at-Large each for Alaska, District of Columbia, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands.
4. Three additional Delegates-at-Large from each State casting its electoral vote, or a majority thereof, for the Republican nominee for President in the last preceding Presidential election.

##### (b) DISTRICT DELEGATES

1. One District Delegate from each Congressional District.
2. One additional District Delegate from each Con-

gressional District casting 10,000 votes or more for any Republican elector in the last preceding Presidential election or for the Republican nominee for Congress in the last preceding Congressional election.

##### (c) ALTERNATE DELEGATES

One Alternate Delegate to each Delegate to the National Convention.

##### *Delegates Shall be Elected Under the Following Rules:*

*First:* Only legal and qualified voters shall participate in a Republican primary, caucus, mass meeting, or mass convention, held for the purpose of selecting delegates to a County, District or State Convention, and only such legal and qualified voters shall be elected as delegates to County, District and State Conventions.

*Second:* State and District Conventions shall be composed of delegates who are legal and qualified voters. Such delegates shall be apportioned among the counties, parishes and cities of the State or District, having regard to the Republican vote therein.

*Third:* Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention shall be duly qualified voters of their respective States and Territories, and in the case of the District of Columbia, residents therein.

Delegates-at-Large and their Alternates, and Delegates from Congressional districts and their alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary election, in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, in such States as require by law the election of Delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries.

(2) By Congressional or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional or State Committees, respectively.

(3) Provided, however, that in selecting Delegates and Alternates to the National Convention, no state law shall be observed which hinders, abridges or denies to any citizen of the United States eligible under the United States Constitution to the office of President or Vice-President the right or privilege of being a candidate under such state law for the nomination for President or Vice President; or which authorizes the election of a number of Delegates or Alternates from any State to the National Convention different from that fixed in this call.

In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

All Delegates from any State may, however, be chosen from the State at large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs so provide.

Alternate Delegates shall be elected to said National Convention for each unit of representation equal in number to the number of Delegates elected therein, and shall be chosen in the same manner and at the same time the Delegates are chosen; provided, however, that if the law of any State shall prescribe the method of choosing Alternates, they shall be chosen in accordance with the provisions of the law of the State in which the election occurs.

The election of Delegates and Alternates from Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction of the respective recognized Republican Central Committee or

governing committee therein, in conformity with the resolution this date adopted by the National Committee."

### Call For National Democratic Convention of 1924

*Issued by Democratic National Committee, January 24, 1924*

"By Authority of the Democratic National Committee, a National Convention of the Democratic Party is hereby called to meet in the city of New York, in the State of New York, on the 24th day of June, 1924, at twelve o'clock noon, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for President and a candidate for Vice-President of the United States; to promulgate a party platform, and to take such other action as may be deemed advisable.

Delegates and alternates from each State shall be chosen to the number of two delegates and two alternates for each United States Senator and two delegates and two alternates for each Representative in Congress from the respective States; and the District of Columbia, the Philippines, Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska and the Canal Zone shall be entitled to six delegates and six alternates each.

In accordance with the action taken by the Democratic National Committee in authorizing the issuance of this call, it is provided that no State, Territory or District shall elect any number of delegates with their alternates in excess of the quota to which such State, Territory or district may be entitled under the basis of representation herein indicated.

In authorizing this call the Democratic National Committee further provided that in order that opportunity may be afforded the various States to give adequate representation to women as delegates-at-large without disturbing prevailing party custom, there may be elected from each State four delegates-at-large for each Senator in Congress from such State with one-half vote each in the National Convention, and recommended to the States that one-half of the number of delegates-at-large shall be women.

#### *Manner of Electing Delegates*

The manner of electing delegates to the Democratic National Convention of 1924 is herewith given in detail: "Presidential Preferential Primaries will be held in 20 states.

State Primaries for the election of delegates to the National Convention will be held in 16 states.

State Conventions for the election of delegates to the National Convention will be held in 29 states.

State committees elect the delegates to the National Convention in 3 states and in 1 state (Louisiana) has the power to determine the method of election.

Illinois and New York are the only states which have both a primary and a convention. In these two states district delegates are elected at a primary and delegates-at-large are elected by a convention.

The election law of Florida provides for a state-wide primary to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in June at which delegates to the National Convention are elected. It is in the discretion of the State Executive Committee, however, to place upon the ballot the names of the candidates for President and according to precedent the delegates chosen are considered instructed to vote for whoever receives the highest vote for President.

States which have both Presidential Preferential Primaries and primaries for the election of delegates hold both primaries on the same date. Alabama and New York, which elect delegates at primary elections, have no Presidential Preferential Primaries."

### APPORTIONMENT OF DELEGATES FROM THE STATES AND TERRITORIES TO REPUBLICAN, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS RESPECTIVELY

STATES	REP.	DEM.	STATES	REP.	DEM.
Alabama	16	24	New Mexico	9	6
Arizona	9	6	New York	91	90
Arkansas	14	18	North Carolina	22	24
California	29	26	North Dakota	13	10
Colorado	15	12	Ohio	51	48
Connecticut	17	14	Oklahoma	23	20
Delaware	9	6	Oregon	13	10
Florida	10	12	Pennsylvania	79	76
Georgia	18	28	Rhode Island	13	10
Idaho	11	8	South Carolina	11	18
Illinois	61	58	South Dakota	13	10
Indiana	33	30	Tennessee	27	24
Iowa	29	26	Texas	23	40
Kansas	23	20	Utah	11	8
Kentucky	26	26	Vermont	11	8
Louisiana	13	20	Virginia	17	24
Maine	15	12	Washington	17	14
Maryland	19	16	West Virginia	19	16
Massachusetts	39	36	Wisconsin	29	26
Michigan	33	30	Wyoming	9	6
Minnesota	27	24	Alaska	2	6
Mississippi	12	20	Distr. of Columbia	2	*6
Missouri	39	36	Hawaii	2	6
Montana	11	8	Philippines	2	6
Nebraska	19	16	Porto Rico	2	6
Nevada	9	6	Canal Zone	2	6
New Hampshire	11	8			
New Jersey	31	28	Total	1,109	1,098

† Republican votes necessary to nominate (majority) 555

‡ Democratic votes necessary to nominate (%) 732

\* Sent twelve delegates with ½ vote each.

### The Work of the National Convention

The purpose of the national convention is three-fold. It formulates the principles of the party into a platform on which the appeal is made to the voters during the ensuing campaign. It nominates candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency, and appoints committees charged with carrying on the campaign and acting for the party for four years—until the next national convention is held.

The convention usually assembles in some enormous building where the thousand delegates, and perhaps eight or ten thousand spectators, are seated. Each delegation is arranged around the banner of its state and has a chairman to direct its part in the convention. In the audience are usually gathered the most active politicians who are not serving as delegates, enthusiastic partisans from all over the country, and interested visitors attracted by the spectacular affair.

#### *The Organization of the Convention*

The convention is called to order by the chairman of the national committee, and before any business is transacted, prayer is usually offered. Clergymen from different congregations are chosen for the several sessions, so as to avoid offending religious susceptibilities. The first business is the reading of the call for the national convention by the secretary of the committee, and the chairman then puts in nomination the temporary officers, who have been selected by the committee before the meeting. Usually these nominations are accepted without question, for the business of the temporary organization is largely formal. The temporary chairman, it is true, makes an address appropriate to the occasion, which is often regarded as the "keynote" to the proceedings, but he is not called upon to make any important decisions from the chair which may affect either the platform of the party

or its nominations. When the temporary officers are duly installed and the speech of the chairman is delivered, the rules of the previous convention are adopted until the permanent organization is effected. The first day's session is then concluded by calling the roll of the states and territories, each one of which appoints one member for each of four great committees of the convention: the committee on credentials, the committee on permanent organization, the committee on rules and order of business, and the committee on resolutions or platform.

After the second session of the convention is called to order by the temporary chairman, the reports of the various committees are heard, not necessarily in any fixed order.

#### *The Committee on Credentials*

The committee on credentials is charged with the important work of deciding questions of contested seats. All notices of contests between delegations are filed in advance with the national committee which makes up the temporary roll. These documents relative to the several disputes are passed on to the credentials committee, which holds meetings and prepares reports for the convention. Sometimes these contests are very exciting; for the policy of the party on national issues and the fate of candidates may be decided by the admission or rejection of certain delegations. Generally speaking, however, the report of the majority of the committee on credentials is accepted by the convention.

#### *The Committee on Permanent Organization*

The next important report is that of the committee on permanent organization, which names the permanent chairman, the secretary, and other officers of the convention. This report is also generally approved without debate, although, of course, the convention may, if it sees fit, refuse to accept the nominees of the committee. The permanent chairman is duly installed, makes a long speech, and is presented with a gavel. The rules under which he controls the assembly are reported by the committee on rules, and are, in principle, those of the House of Representatives with some modifications. The chairman is constantly called upon to decide points of order of a highly technical nature; he must prevent the convention, which sometimes bursts out into storms of applause lasting more than an hour, from degenerating entirely into an uncontrolled mob; he is often compelled to choose from among five or ten speakers trying to get the floor at the same time; and it is, therefore, important that he should be master of the rules of procedure, and capable of prompt and firm decision.

#### *Adopting the Platform*

On the second or third day, the convention is ready for the report of the committee on resolutions, which is charged with drafting the platform. This committee begins its sessions immediately after its appointment, and usually agrees on a unanimous report. The report of the committee on resolutions seldom meets opposition in the convention, for care is taken by the committee to placate all elements. It is only when there is some very contentious matter that there is likely to be a divided report from the committee or any debate on the floor.

After the adoption of the platform, the new national committee is chosen.

#### *Presentation of Candidates*

About the third or fourth day, the chairman announces that the next order of business is the calling of the roll of the states for the presentation of names of the candidates for President of the United States, and the roll is

called in alphabetical order beginning with Alabama. If a state has no candidate to present, it may defer to another further down on the list. When Alabama is called upon in the Republican convention, the chairman of the delegation will say something to this effect: "The State of Alabama requests the privilege and distinguished honor of yielding its place upon the roll to the State of New York." A representative of the state which is thus named thereupon places a candidate in nomination, in a formal speech. The first speech may be followed by speeches seconding the nomination, from the representatives of various delegations scattered over the House, if the chairman sees fit to recognize them. The nominations may be closed without calling the full roll of the states, or the calling of the roll may be resumed and each state heard from, as it is reached in regular order.

#### *Casting the Votes*

When the nominations are made, the vote is taken by calling the roll of the delegations, and the chairman of each announces the vote of his group. According to the theory of the Republican party, each member of a delegation may cast his vote as he pleases, although as a matter of fact the delegations are often instructed by the conventions of the states from which they come. The Democratic party, however, does not recognize the right of the individual to vote as he pleases in the convention. It not only permits the state convention to instruct its delegates, but also authorizes the majority in each delegation to determine how the entire vote shall be cast—and cast that vote as a unit. For example, the state of New York has ninety representatives in the national convention, and if forty-six of the delegates agree on the same candidate, the vote of the entire number is cast for him, when the unit rule is applied.

It should be noted, however, that the unit rule is not applied to all state delegations in the Democratic convention. It is left to the states concerned to adopt or reject the principles as they see fit; but if the state does not act in the matter, the delegates may vote as they please.

#### *The Notification*

When the convention has chosen its candidates, a separate committee is appointed to convey to each of them a formal notification. Shortly afterward the notification committee waits upon the candidate, and through an official spokesman announces the will of the party. The candidate thereupon replies in a lengthy address, and sometimes follows this by a special letter of acceptance. The acceptance speech is often an important campaign document for the reason that the candidate may interpret the platform of his party in his own way, going even so far as to modify the spirit, if not the letter, of that pronouncement.

#### *The National Committee*

The great work of directing the campaign is intrusted to the national committee, composed, in the Republican and Democratic parties, of one member from each state and territory chosen by the respective delegations to the national convention, and holding office for four years, that is, from one national convention to the next. The selection of this committee is a part of the regular convention proceedings.

The principal officers of the national committee are the chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The chairman, who is by far the most important political leader in the national organization, is the choice of the candidate for President. The wishes of the committee and other leaders of the party, are, of course, taken into consideration. This power of selecting the chairman is very important to the presidential nominee, because the immediate task of that

officer is to conduct the presidential campaign, and it is essential that he and the candidate work together in complete harmony. The chairman is not necessarily a member of the original committee, for it may so happen that no prominent and energetic organizer has been chosen by the state and territorial delegations. The secretary and treasurer are sometimes appointed by the chairman, and sometimes by the committee. The treasurer is often not a member of the committee; owing to his important position as collector of campaign funds, he is selected for his financial ability and influence from among the most available members of the party.

### The National Campaign

Immediately after the adjournment of the convention, the newly elected committee meets and proceeds with the preparations for the campaign. The leadership in this great national contest is taken of course by the chairman, who disburses enormous sums of money collected by the treasurer, directs the huge army of speakers, organizers, and publicity agents scattered over the Union,

and as the day of election approaches surveys the whole field with the eye of an experienced general, discovering weak places in his battle array, hurrying up reinforcements to the doubtful states. The outcome of the campaign, therefore, depends in a great measure upon the generalship of the chairman of the national committee.

Quite as important as the general who leads the army in the field is the organizer of the department which furnishes the sinews of war. Consequently, in a political campaign, the treasurer of the national committee takes a prominent place by the side of the chairman. It is his business to discover innumerable ways of raising the million dollars or more required to wage the great political contest.

A very practical and indispensable part of the national committee's work is the polling of doubtful states. Early in the campaign a political census is taken of those states in which the vote has been known to vacillate from campaign to campaign, and great pains are taken to make this census complete and accurate.—*Extracts from "American Government and Politics," by Charles A. Beard.*

## The Election

### The Electoral System In Operation

THE political activities described above—important as they are in the selection of the President and Vice-President—are wholly unknown to the Constitution. In the first place the Constitution contemplates a system of indirect election: each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the commonwealth is entitled in Congress. To remove the electors from any direct contact with the federal government, it was added that no Senator or Representative or a person holding any office of trust under the United States should be appointed an elector.

It is to be noted that the electors of each state are to be chosen as the legislature thereof may determine and in the course of our history no less than three distinct methods have been devised. (1) In the beginning, it was often the practice for the state legislatures themselves to choose the electors; but within a quarter of a century the majority of them had abandoned this practice in favor of popular election. (2) Where this system was adopted it was often the custom at first to have two electors chosen by the voters of the state at large and the remaining electors chosen by congressional districts—thus each voter would have the right to vote for three electors, two at large and one from his own district. (3) It was at length discovered that a state's influence in national politics was greatly increased if all of its electors could be carried by one party or the other, and consequently the system of election by district has been abandoned, in favor of election by general ticket throughout the state at large.

It is necessary, accordingly, for each party in each state to prepare a list of candidates equal to the total number of electors to which that particular commonwealth is entitled.

On election day, therefore, the voter does not vote directly for President and Vice-President, although for his information the names of the candidates of all parties ap-

pear on the ballot. On the contrary, if he votes a straight ticket, he simply votes for the entire list of electors put forward by his party. There is no point at all in splitting the vote for presidential electors. What happens, therefore, on a general presidential election day is the choice in each state of a certain number of presidential electors—531 in all. Normally the party which secures a plurality of votes in any state is entitled to all of the electoral votes of that state for President and Vice-President, no matter how large the minority. No elector would dare to break faith with the party which placed him in nomination, and vote for the candidates of the opposite party. Consequently, the deliberative, judicial, non-partisan system designed by the framers of the Constitution has been overthrown by party practice.

It is sometimes held that through this party practice we have secured popular election of President and Vice-President, but if we mean by popular election, choice by majority or plurality vote throughout the United States, it has not been attained as yet. Indeed, several of our Presidents have been elected by a minority of the popular vote.

This possible contingency of election by a minority of the popular vote cast is due to the fact that when a party carries a state, no matter by how slight a margin, it secures all of the presidential electors to which that commonwealth is entitled. A party, therefore, that wins, although by narrow margins, in a sufficient number of states to obtain a majority of the electors may in fact poll a smaller number of votes than the opposing party which may have carried its states by enormous majorities.

The practice of giving the entire electoral vote of a state to the party that has won at the polls, even by the slightest majority, has another significant effect. It concentrates the campaign principally in the states that are counted as "close" and are liable to swing to either party in the election. The importance of carrying these pivotal states leads campaign managers to employ in each of them every art of winning votes known to practical politics.

### The Electoral College

The methods by which the electors so chosen in each state shall meet and cast their votes are prescribed in the Constitution and in federal and state statutes. It is provided by federal law that the electors of each commonwealth shall convene on the second Monday of January, immediately following their appointment at such place as the legislature of the state may direct—in practice, the state capital. When they have assembled, the electors vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, that is, for the two candidates, nominated by their party. They thereupon make distinct lists of the number of votes so cast, and sign, certify, seal, and transmit the lists to the president of the Senate of the United States. With the lists of their votes for President and Vice-President, the electors must transmit their certificates of election as evidence of their power to act—evidence of crucial importance in case of contested elections. When they have cast their votes and transmitted their documents according to law, the electors have performed their whole duty. They are not paid by the federal government, but are regarded as state officers, and must look to the state legislature for remuneration for their services.

### Counting the Electoral Vote

The counting of the total electoral vote polled throughout the United States begins in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the second Wednesday in February, following the meeting of the electors in their respective states. It is conducted in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives with the president of the Senate in the chair. Two tellers are appointed by the Senate and two by the House of Representatives. The certificates and documents are opened by the president of the Senate, taking the states in alphabetical order, beginning with Alabama, and thereupon handed to the tellers who read the same and list the votes. The candidates having the greatest number of votes for President and Vice-President respectively, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, are declared duly elected. Except in case of a contested election, this count is, of course, merely an impressive formality, for the result is ordinarily known three months before.

### In Case no Presidential Candidate Receives a Majority

In case no candidate for President receives a majority of all the electoral votes cast, the House of Representatives thereupon chooses the President by ballot from the three candidates who have received the highest number of votes. It should be noted, however, that, in selecting the President, each state represented in the House is entitled to only one vote; a quorum consists of the members from two-thirds of the states; and a majority of all the states is necessary to choice. Accordingly, the vote of each state for the presidential candidate must be determined by the majority of the Representatives of the commonwealth in the House. In case of the failure of the House to choose a President (whenever the election devolves upon that body) before the fourth of March following, it becomes the duty of the Vice-President to act as President.

There have been only two instances of presidential elections by the House of Representatives—Jefferson in 1801 and John Quincy Adams in 1825. This is due, of course, to the fact that we have two great political parties somewhat equally balanced. If the voters were broken into several parties the election would more often devolve upon the House.

### In Case no Vice-Presidential Candidate Receives Majority

Whenever no candidate for Vice-President receives a majority of all the electoral votes, the election is thrown into the Senate, and the Senators voting as individuals must choose the Vice-President from the two candidates having the highest number of votes. Two-thirds of the whole number of the Senators constitute a quorum for this purpose, and a majority of the whole number is necessary to a choice.—*Extracts.\**

### In Case the Electoral College and Congress Fail to Elect

In 1886, Congress attempted to make provision for a simultaneous vacancy in the offices of President and Vice-President. Closely following the language of the Constitution, it provided that in case of the "removal, death, resignation or inability of both the President and the Vice-President of the United States," that thereupon the vacancy should be filled by the following officers in the order named: The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior; and it was further provided that, in such event, if Congress were not in session, the official who thus filled the vacancy should issue a proclamation to convene Congress in extraordinary session, upon twenty days' notice.

This provision, however, does not seem to meet the contingency of a failure of both the Electoral College and the two houses of Congress, respectively, to elect a new President and Vice-President. Apparently it means that, when a President and Vice-President have qualified and are serving in their respective capacities, if both should die, resign or be removed for some disability, thereupon the Secretary of State and the other Cabinet officers in the order mentioned shall temporarily act as President of the United States.

The act does not mean, in terms, nor does the Constitution literally, to authorize Congress to provide for the contingency of a failure of both the Electoral College and the houses of Congress to elect a new President and Vice-President upon the expiration of the existing administration, and if, next autumn, the Electoral College should fail to give a majority to any candidate for either office and the houses of Congress should deadlock until next March 4, a Constitutional crisis might be precipitated, and any method that might be adopted to solve the difficulty would be subject to possible legal disputes.

Should such an emergency unhappily arise—which is altogether improbable—the question could be solved by resort to the implied powers under the Constitution.

The Supreme Court might well conclude if a controversy should ever arise, that the Constitution never intended that the Government should be without a head, and if, therefore, the offices of President and Vice-President both became vacant by the termination of their tenure of office and before successors were elected, and the ordinary processes of such an election failed, that two implications would be possible, if the Government was to continue to function.

One would be that the President and Vice-President, whose terms of office ordinarily expire on March 4, would continue in office until successors were duly elected. The other implication would be that Congress would have power to fill temporarily such vacancy and order a new election.

The latter implication would seem to be the more reasonable; for, as the Constitution expressly authorizes

\* Extracts from "American Government and Politics," by Charles A. Beard.

# The 1924 Presidential Election

## National Political Parties Holding 1924 Conventions

EDITOR'S NOTE: All information relative to the Parties is official, having been furnished by the National Headquarters of the respective Parties.

### The Parties and Their Nominees

**Party**  
 Republican Party  
 Democratic Party  
 Progressive Party  
 Socialist Party\*  
 National Independent Party†  
 People's Progressives‡  
 National Prohibition Party  
 Commonwealth Land Party  
 American Party  
 Socialist Labor Party  
 Workers Party of America  
 Farmer-Labor Party§—††

**Presidential Nominee**  
 President Calvin Coolidge, Vt.  
 John W. Davis, W. Va.  
 Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Wis.

John Zahnd, Ind.‖  
 Robert R. Pointer, Mich.¶  
 Herman P. Faris, Mo.  
 William J. Wallace, N. J.  
 Judge Gilbert O. Nations, D. C.  
 Frank T. Johns, Ore.  
 William Z. Foster, Ill.  
 Duncan McDonald, Ill.°

**Vice-Presidential Nominee**  
 General Charles G. Dawes, Ill.  
 Governor Charles W. Bryan, Nebr.  
 Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Mont.

Roy M. Harrop, Okla.‖  
 Roy M. Harrop, Okla.¶  
 (Miss) Marie C. Brehm, Calif.  
 J. C. Lincoln, Ohio.  
 Charles H. Randall, Calif.\*\*  
 Verne L. Reynolds, Md.  
 Benjamin Gitlow, N. Y.  
 William Bouck, Wash.°

### Republican Party

#### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

*Date of organization:* See article, "The Origin of Political Parties in the United States" on page 329; *National Headquarters:* Washington, D. C.; *Chairman of National Committee and Campaign Manager:* William M. Butler, Mass.; *Officers of National Committee:* Vice-Chairmen: Charles D. Hilles, N. Y., Ralph E. Williams, Ore., Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, Ky., Secy., Roy O. West, Ill., Treas., Wm. V. Hodges, Colo.; *The National Convention:* Convened at Cleveland, O., June 10. Adjourned June 13, 1924. The keynote speech delivered June 10 by Theodore E. Burton, U. S. Repr., O. There were 1,109 delegates present, representing the 48 states and territories of the United States, and casting a total of 1,109 votes. President Coolidge was elected Presidential nominee on the first ballot on June 12. No other name was presented formally to the convention. Five hundred fifty-six votes were necessary to elect a candidate. President Coolidge received 1,065. General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago was elected Vice-Presidential nominee on the third ballot on June 12 by a vote of 682½.

*The Notification Ceremony*—President Coolidge was officially notified of his nomination as Presidential candidate by the Republican Party in a "Notification Address" delivered August 14th at Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, D. C., by Frank W. Mondell, Wyo., Chairman of the Presidential Notification Committee. President Coolidge replied in a formal acceptance address. General Dawes, Vice-Presidential candidate, made his acceptance speech on August 19th at Evanston, Ill. With the completion of the notification ceremonies the Republican campaign may be said to have officially begun.

\* Did not elect presidential and vice-presidential nominees at national convention of the Socialist Party July 7, 1924, but endorsed presidential candidacy and platform of Senator Robert M. LaFollette.  
 † The Party subsequently withdrew their nominees in favor of the Progressive Party ticket.

‡ The Party subsequently withdrew their nominees in favor of the National Independent Party ticket.

§ The Party subsequently withdrew their nominees in favor of the Workers Party of America ticket.

‖ Nominated at national convention of the National Independent Party at Detroit, Mich., January 31, 1924.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

*Name:* Calvin Coolidge; *Residence:* Plymouth, Vt.; *Present occupation:* President of the United States; *Place and date of birth:* Plymouth, Vt., July 4, 1872; *Parents:* John C. Coolidge and Victoria J. (Moor) Coolidge; *Paternal Ancestry:* English; *Religion:* Congregationalist; *Family:* Married Grace A. Goodhue, of Burlington, Vt., Oct. 4, 1905. One son, John C. Coolidge. *Education and training:* A. B., Amherst, 1895. LL.D., Amherst, 1919, also from Tufts, Williams, Bates, Wesleyan, University of Vermont. Studied law with Hammond & Field, Northampton, Mass. Began practice at Northampton, 1897; *Public offices held:* Councilman, Northampton, 1899; City Solicitor, 1900-1; Clerk of Courts, 1904; member, General Court of Massachusetts, 1907-8; Mayor of Northampton, 1910-11; member, State Senate, 1912-15 (president of Senate, 1914-15); Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, 1916-17-18; Governor of Massachusetts, 2 terms, 1919-20; elected Vice-President of the United States for term 1921-25; became President of United States Aug. 3, 1923.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

*Name:* General Charles Gates Dawes; *Residence:* Chicago, Ill.; *Present occupation:* President and Chairman, Central Trust Co., of Illinois; *Place and date of birth:* Marietta, Ohio, Aug. 27, 1865; *Parents:* Gen. Rufus R. Dawes and Mary Beman Gates; *Paternal ancestry:* English; *Religion:* Presbyterian; *Family:* Married Caro

† Nominated at national convention of the People's Progressive Party at Detroit, Mich., January 31, 1924.

° Nominated at National convention of Farmer-Labor Party at St. Paul, Minn., June 17, 1924.

‡ Farmer-Labor Party of the United States with national headquarters at Denver, Col., and whose members withdrew from the St. Paul Convention, subsequently met with the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland July 4 and endorsed the LaFollette-Wheeler ticket.

\*\* Mr. Randall subsequently withdrew to become a candidate for election to Congress, and Mr. Leander L. Pickett, Ky., was selected as Vice Presidential candidate.

D. Blymer, of Cincinnati, Jan. 24, 1889; *Education and training*: A. B. Marietta College, 1884, A. M. 1887; LL. B., Cincinnati Law School, 1886; practiced law, Lincoln, Nebr., 1887-94; since then interested in gas business at Evanston, Ill., La Crosse, Wis., Seattle, Wash., etc.; President and Chairman of the Board, Central Trust Co., of Illinois, Chicago, 1902; President, Rufus F. Dawes Hotel Association. Commissioned major engineers, National Army, June, 1917; Lieutenant Colonel, July, 1917; Colonel, January, 1918; Brigadier General, October, 1918; appointed to administrative staff of commander in chief of A. E. F., September, 1917, as Chairman of General Purchasing Board and General Purchasing Agent, A. E. F.; later member Allied Purchasing Board and member

Liquidation Commission of Allies. Author: *The Banking System of the United States*, 1892; *Essays and Speeches*, 1915; *A Journal of the Great War*, 1921; *The First Year of the Budget of the United States*, 1923; *Public offices held*: 1897-1902, Comptroller of the Currency, 1921, Director of Federal Budget System. 1923, appointed by Reparations Commission as President of Committee to investigate possibilities of German budget. U. S. Army—*see above*; *Affiliations*: The Chicago, Union League, University, Onwentsia, Glen View, Evanston, Evanston Country, and Evanston Golf Clubs; member executive committee of Republican National Committee in campaign of 1896. Awarded D. S. M.; Order of Leopold (Belgian), 1919, commander, Legion d'Honneur (France), 1919.\*

## Democratic Party

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

*Date of organization*: See article, "The Origin of Political Parties in the United States" on page 329; *National Headquarters*: Washington, D. C.; *Chairman of National Committee and Campaign Manager*: Clem Shaver, W. Va.; *Officers of National Committee*: Vice-Chairmen: Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, Mo., Samuel Amidon, Kans., Frank Hague, N. J., Secy. Charles A. Grathouse, Ind., Treas., James W. Gerard, N. Y., Dir. of Finance, Jesse Jones, Tex. *The National Convention*: Convened at New York City June 24. Adjourned July 11, 1924. The keynote speech delivered by U. S. Senator Pat Harrison, Miss., June 24. There were 1,098 delegates present, representing the 48 states and territories of the United States, and casting a total of 1,098 votes. Seven hundred thirty-two votes (or two-thirds of the votes represented) were necessary to nominate a presidential candidate. John W. Davis, of W. Va., received a two-thirds majority on the 103d ballot, July 9. Mr. Davis was then nominated by acclamation. Charles W. Bryan, Governor of Nebr., was elected Vice-Presidential candidate on the 1st ballot, July 11, by a vote of 739, 7 votes more than necessary for the nomination.

*The Notification Ceremony*—Mr. Davis was officially notified of his nomination as Presidential candidate by the Democratic Party in a "Notification address" delivered at Clarksburg, W. Va., August 11, 1924, by U. S. Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Mont., Chairman of the Presidential Notification Committee. Mr. Davis replied in a formal acceptance address. Governor Bryan made his acceptance speech August 18th, 1924, at Lincoln, Nebr. With the completion of the notification ceremonies the Democratic campaign may be said to have officially begun.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

*Name*: John William Davis; *Residence*: Clarksburg, West Virginia; Locust Valley, Long Island; *Present occupation*: Member of law firm of Stetson, Jennings & Russell, New York; *Place and date of birth*: Clarksburg, W. Va., April 13, 1873; *Parents*: John James Davis, Anna Kennedy Davis; *Paternal Ancestry*: Scotch-Irish; *Religion*: Presbyterian; *Family*: In 1899 married Julia T. McDonald, who died the following year. On Jan. 2, 1912, married Ellen G. Bassell, of Clarksburg, W. Va. Has one married daughter, Mrs. Julia McMillan Adams; *Education and training*: Washington and Lee University. Admitted to bar in West Virginia in 1895. Assistant Professor of Law at Washington and Lee University, 1896.

From 1897 to 1913 practiced law in Clarksburg in partnership with his father, under firm name of Davis & Davis; *Public offices held*: Elected Member West Virginia House of Delegates from Harrison County, 1899; elected to Congress in 1910, reelected to 63rd Congress, 1912; appointed Solicitor General of the United States (1913-1918); member of the American delegation to confer with Germans on treatment and exchange of prisoners of war, Sept., 1918, Berne, Switzerland; appointed Ambassador to Great Britain, 1918; *Affiliations*: Metropolitan, University, Chevy Chase, Lawyers', and National Press Clubs of Washington, and the Century, University, Recess and Piping Rock Country Clubs of New York; member of the Phi Kappa Psi and Phi Beta Kappa fraternities and is a thirty-second degree Mason; President of West Virginia Bar Association, 1906; President of American Bar Association, 1922; member of American Society of International Law; Chairman of Twenty-ninth Conference of International Law Association, 1918. Received honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Washington and Lee University, the University of West Virginia, Union College, Yale University, the University of Birmingham (England) and Glasgow University, Scotland. Made Honorary Bencher of the Middle Temple, London. Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment Fund for International Peace.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

*Name*: Charles Wayland Bryan; *Residence*: Lincoln, Nebr.; *Present occupation*: Governor of Nebraska; *Place and date of birth*: Salem, Ill., Feb. 10, 1867; *Parents*: Silas Lilliard and Mariah Elizabeth Jennings; *Paternal Ancestry*: Irish; *Religion*: Baptist; *Family*: Married Bessie Louise Brokaw, of Salem, Ill., Nov. 29, 1892. One married daughter, Mrs. Marylouise Bryan Harnsberger, and one son; *Education and training*: University of Chicago and Illinois College (non-graduate.) Settled in Lincoln, Nebr., 1896; member of governor's staff, rank of colonel, 1897-1902; publisher and associate editor, "The Commoner," 1901-23; editor and proprietor, "American Homestead," 5 years; actively engaged in farming; chairman, Park Board, Municipal Ownership League, etc.; established municipal coal yard, municipal employment bureau, legal aid department, in Lincoln, Nebr.; private secretary to W. J. Bryan; *Public offices held*: 1915-17, mayor of Lincoln; 1921-22, city commissioner of Lincoln; 1923-25, Governor of Nebraska; *Affiliations*: Lincoln Country Club, Odd Fellow. Woodman.\*

\*See next page for Platform.

## 1924 Pledges of the Republican and Democratic Parties

### As Set Forth in Their Respective Party Platforms

EDITOR'S NOTE: In order to include commitments on all the subjects covered by the platforms, lack of space prevented including denunciations or arguments.

#### REPUBLICAN

WHEN the Republican Administration took control of the Government in 1921 there were four and a half million unemployed, industry and commerce were stagnant, agriculture was prostrate, business was depressed, the bonds of the Government were selling below their par value. Peace was delayed, misunderstanding and friction characterized our relations abroad. There was a lack of faith in the administration of government resulting in a growing feeling of distrust in the very principles upon which our institutions are founded.

Today industry and commerce are active; public and private credits are sound. We have made peace; we have taken the first step toward disarmament, and strengthened our friendship with other Powers. Our relations with the rest of the world are on a firmer basis, our position was never better understood, our foreign policy never more definite and consistent. The tasks to which we have put our hands are not completed. Time has been too short for the correction of all the ills we received as a heritage from the last Democratic Administration, but the notable accomplishments under Republican rule warrant us in appealing to the country with entire confidence.

#### Finance, Taxation and Tariff

*Public Economy*—We commend the firm insistence of President Coolidge upon rigid Government economy and pledge our earnest support to this end.

*Finance and Taxation*—We believe that the achievements of the Republican Administration in reducing taxation by \$1,250,000,000 per annum, reducing the public debt by \$2,432,000,000, installing a budget system, decreasing the public expenditures from \$5,500,000,000 per annum to approximately \$3,400,000,000 per annum, thus restoring the ordinary expenditures of the Government to substantially a pre-war basis and in the complete restoration of public credit, the payment or refunding of seven and a half billions of public obligations without disturbance of credit or industry—all in the short period of three years, present a record unsurpassed in the history of public finance. Progressive tax reduction should be accomplished through tax reform. It should not be confined to less than 4,000,000 of our citizens who pay direct taxes, but is the right of the more than 100,000,000 who are daily paying their taxes indirectly through their living expenses. Congress has in the main confined its work to tax reduction. The matter of tax reform is still unsettled and is equally essential.

We pledge ourselves to the progressive reduction of the taxes of all the people as rapidly as may be done with due provision for the essential expenditures of the Government administered with rigid economy and to place our tax system on a sound peace-time basis.

We favor the creation by appropriate legislation of a non-partisan Federal commission to make a comprehensive study and report upon the tax systems of the State and Federal Governments to serve as a basis for an intelligent reformation of our systems of taxation, and as a basis for the proper adjustment of the subjects of taxation as between the National and State Governments with fairness and justice to the taxpayer and in conformity with sound economic principles.

*The Tariff*—We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff to extend needed protection to our productive industries. Without the strict maintenance of the tariff principle our farmers will need always to compete with cheap lands and cheap labor abroad, and with lower standards of living.

We believe that the power of the President to decrease or increase any rate of duty in the Tariff Act furnishes a safeguard against excessive duties and against too low customs charges, and affords ample opportunity for tariff duties to be adjusted after a hearing that they may cover the actual differences in the cost of production in the United States and the principal competing countries of the world.

#### Foreign Relations

*World Court*—The Republican Party reaffirms its stand for agreement among the nations to prevent war and preserve peace. As an immediate step in this direction we endorse the Permanent Court of International Justice and favor the adherence of the United States to this tribunal as recommended by President Coolidge. This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League. On this we stand. The basic principles of our foreign policy must

#### DEMOCRATIC

WE URGE the American people to compare the record of eight unsullied years of Democratic administration with that of the Republican administration. In the former there was no corruption. Party pledges were faithfully fulfilled, and a Democratic Congress enacted an extraordinary number of constructive and remedial laws. The economic life of the nation was quickened. Tariff taxes were reduced. A Federal Trade Commission was created. A Federal Farm Loan System was established. Child Labor legislation was enacted. A Good Roads bill was passed. Eight Hour Laws were adopted. A Secretary of Labor was given a seat in the Cabinet of the President. The Clayton amendment to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. By the Smith-Lever bill improvement of agricultural conditions was effected. A Corrupt Practice Act was adopted. A well considered Warehouse Act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were created, Farm Loan Banks were organized and the Federal Reserve system was established. Privilege was uprooted. A corrupt lobby was driven from the National Capitol. A higher sense of individual and national duty was aroused. America enjoyed an unprecedented period of social and material progress.

#### Finance, Taxation and Tariff

*Tariff and Taxation*—Trade interchange, on the basis of reciprocal advantages to the countries participating, is a time-honored doctrine of Democratic faith. We declare our party's position to be in favor of a tax on commodities entering the customs houses that will promote effective competition, protect against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue to support the Government.

We hold that the fairest tax with which to raise revenues for the Federal Government is the income tax. We favor a graduated tax upon incomes, so adjusted as to lay the burdens of government upon the taxpayers in proportion to the benefits they enjoy and their ability to pay. We oppose the so-called nuisance taxes, sales taxes, and all other forms of taxation that unfairly shift to the consumer the burdens of taxation. We refer to the Democratic revenue measure passed by the last Congress as distinguished from the Mellon tax plan as an illustration of the policy of the Democratic Party. We hold that all taxes are unnecessarily high, and pledge ourselves to further reductions.

*Republican Contraction of Credit and Currency*—Within eighteen months after the election of 1920 the deflation policy of the Republican party resulted in withdrawing bank loans and discounts by over five billions of dollars and in contracting our currency by over fifteen hundred millions of dollars. We demand that the Federal Reserve system be so administered as to give stability to industry, commerce and finance, as was intended by the Democratic Party, which gave the Federal Reserve System to the nation.

#### Foreign Relations

*League of Nations*—The Democratic Party pledges all its energies to the outlawing of the whole war system. The only hope for world peace and for economic recovery lies in the organized efforts of sovereign nations cooperating to remove the causes of war and to substitute law and order for violence.

Under Democratic leadership a practical plan was devised under which fifty-four nations are now operating and which has for its fundamental purpose the free cooperation of all nations in the work of peace.

The Democratic Party renews its declaration of confidence in the ideal of world peace, the League of Nations and the supreme effort of the statesmanship and religious conviction of our time to organize the world for peace. Further, the Democratic Party declared that it will be the purpose of the next Administration to do all in its power to secure for our country that moral leadership in the family of nations which in the Providence of God, has been so clearly marked out for it. There is no substitute for the League of Nations as an agency working for peace; therefore, we believe that, in the interest of permanent peace, and in the lifting of the great burdens of war from the backs of the people, and in order to establish a permanent foreign policy on these supreme questions, not subject to change with change of party administrations, it is desirable, wise and necessary to lift this question out of party politics and to that end to take

**REPUBLICAN—continued**

be independence without indifference to the rights and necessities of others and cooperation without entangling alliances.

**Dawes Plan**—A most impressive example of the capacity of the United States to serve the cause of world peace without political affiliations was shown in the effective and beneficent work of the Dawes Commission towards the solution of the perplexing question of German reparations.

**Limitation of Armaments**—The first conference of great powers in Washington, called by President Harding, accomplished the limitation of armaments and the readjustment of the relations of the powers interested in the Far East.

We firmly advocate the calling of a conference on the limitation of land forces, the use of submarines and poison gas, as proposed by President Coolidge, when by the adoption of a permanent reparations plan the conditions in Europe will make negotiations and cooperation opportune and possible.

**Treaties**—We have concluded and signed with other nations during the past three years more than 50 treaties and international agreements in the furtherance of peace and good will.

New sanctions and new proofs of permanent accord have marked our relations with all Latin America.

Our difficulties with Mexico have happily yielded to a most friendly adjustment. The ready and generous response of America to the needs of the suddenly stricken people of Japan and the starving in Russia gave evidence of our helpful interest in the welfare of the distressed in other lands.

**International Conference**—The work of our representatives in dealing with subjects of such universal concern as the traffic in women and children, the production and distribution of narcotic drugs, the sale of arms, and with matters affecting public health and morals, demonstrates that we can effectively do our part for humanity and civilization without forfeiting, limiting or restricting our national freedom of action.

We favor the holding from time to time of international conferences for the advancement and codification of international law.

**Foreign Debt**—We have steadfastly refused to consider the cancellation of foreign debts. Our position has been based on the conviction that a moral obligation such as was incurred should not be disregarded.

We stand for settlements with all debtor countries similar in character to our debt agreement with Great Britain.

The justness of the basis employed has been formally recognized by other debtor nations. Thirty-five per cent of the total foreign debt is now in progress of liquidation.

Great nations cannot recognize or admit the principle of repudiation. To do so would undermine the integrity essential for international trade, commerce and credit.

**Reorganization of Executive Departments**

**Reorganization of Executive Departments**—We favor a comprehensive reorganization of the executive departments and bureaus along the lines of the plan recently submitted by a joint committee of the Congress.

**Civil Service**

**Civil Service**—We favor the classification of postmasters in first, second and third class postoffices and the placing of the prohibition enforcement field force within the Classified Civil Service, without necessarily incorporating all the present personnel.

**Agriculture**

**Agriculture**—We pledge the Party to take whatever steps are necessary to bring back a balanced condition between agriculture, industry and labor, which was destroyed by the Democratic Party through an unfortunate administration of legislation passed as war measures.

We affirm that under the Republican Administration the problems of the farmer have received more serious consideration than ever before.

The restoration of general prosperity and of the purchasing power of our people through tariff protection has resulted in an increased domestic consumption of food products, and the prices of many agricultural commodities are above the world price level by reason of direct tariff protection.

Under the leadership of the President at a most critical time a corporation was organized by private capital making available \$100,000,000 to assist the farmers of the Northwest.

Realizing the disturbance in the agricultural export market, the result of the financial depression in Europe, and appreciating that the export field would be enormously improved by economic rehabilitation and the resulting increased consuming power, sympathetic support and direction were given to the work of the American representatives on the European Reparations Commission.

The revival in 1921 of the War Finance Corporation, with loans of over \$300,000,000, averted a complete collapse in the agricultural industry.

*Continued on next page*

**DEMOCRATIC—continued**

the sense of the American people at a referendum election. Immediately upon an affirmative vote we will carry out such mandate.

**Narcotics**—We pledge ourselves vigorously to take against it all legitimate and proper measures for education, for control and for suppression at home and abroad.

**Armenia and the Lausanne Treaty**—We condemn the Lausanne Treaty. It bartered legitimate American rights, and betrays Armenia, for the Chester Oil Concession.

We favor the protection of American rights in Turkey, and the fulfillment of President Wilson's arbitral award respecting Armenia.

**Republic of Greece**—We welcome to the sisterhood of Republics the ancient land of Greece.

**The Latin-American Republics**—From the day of their birth friendly relations have existed between the Latin-American Republics and the United States. The Democratic Party sends to these Republics its cordial greeting.

**Civil Service**

**Civil Service**—We pledge the Democratic Party faithfully to comply with the spirit as well as the regulation of Civil Service; to extend its provisions to Internal Revenue officers and to other employees of the government not in executive positions, and to secure to ex-Service Men preference in such appointments.

**Postal Employees**—We declare in favor of adequate salaries to provide decent living conditions for postal employees.

**Agriculture**

**Agriculture**—To restore the farmer again to economic equality with other industrialists, we pledge ourselves:

(a) To adopt an international policy of such cooperation, by direct official instead of indirect and evasive unofficial means, as will reestablish the farmer's export market by restoring the industrial balance in Europe and the normal flow of international trade with the settlement of Europe's economic problems.

(b) To adjust the tariff so that the farmer and all other classes can buy again in a competitive manufacturers' market.

(c) To readjust and lower rail and water rates, which will make our markets, both for the buyer and the seller, national and international instead of regional and local.

(d) To bring about the early completion of internal waterway systems for transportation, and to develop our water powers for cheaper fertilizer and use on our farms.

(e) To stimulate by every proper governmental activity the progress of the cooperative marketing movement and the establishment of an export marketing corporation or commission in order that the exportable surplus may not establish the price of the whole crop.

(f) To secure for the farmer credits suitable for his needs.

(g) By the establishment of these policies and others naturally supplementary thereto, to reduce the margin between what the producer receives for his products and the consumer has to pay for his supplies, to the end that we secure an equality for agriculture.

**Mining**

**Mining**—It is the duty of our government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

**Highways**

**Improved Highways**—We call attention to the record of the Democratic Party in this matter, and favor a continuance of Federal aid under existing Federal and state agencies.

**Labor**

**Labor and Child Welfare**—Labor is not a commodity. It is human. We favor collective bargaining and laws regulating hours of labor and conditions under which labor is performed. We favor the enactment of legislation providing that the product of convict labor shipped from one state to another shall be subject to the laws of the latter state exactly as though they had been produced therein. In order to mitigate unemployment attending business depression, we urge the enactment of legislation authorizing that construction and repair of public works be initiated in periods of acute unemployment.

We pledge the party to cooperate with the state governments for the welfare, education and protection of child life and all necessary safeguards against exhaustive debilitating employment conditions for women.

**Railroads**

**Railroads**—The Each-Cummings Transportation Act of 1921 has failed to reduce the cost of transportation. The promised improvement in service has not been realized. The labor provisions of the Act have proven unsatisfactory in settling differences between employer and employees. The so-called recapture clause has worked to the advantage of the strong and has been of no benefit to the weak. The pronouncement in the Act for the development of both rail and water transportation has proven futile. It has unnecessarily interfered with the

*Continued in next page*

**REPUBLICAN—continued****Agriculture—continued**

We have established new intermediate credit banks for agriculture and increased the capital of the Federal Farm Loan System. Emergency loans have been granted to drought-stricken areas.

We have enacted into law the Cooperative Marketing Act, the Grain Futures and Packer Control Acts; given to agriculture direct representation on the Federal Reserve Board and on the Federal Trade Commission.

We have greatly strengthened our foreign marketing service for the disposal of our agricultural products.

The crux of the problem from the standpoint of the farmer is the net profit he receives after his outlay. The process of bringing the average prices of what he buys and what he sells closer together can be indirectly expedited by reduction in taxes, steady employment in industry and stability in business. This process can be directly expedited by lower freight rates, by better marketing through cooperative effort and a more scientific organization of the physical and human machinery of distribution and by a greater diversification of farm products.

We promise every assistance in the reorganization of the marketing system on sounder and more economical lines and, where diversification is needed, Government assistance during the period of transition.

We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are threatened by foreign competition.

We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a Federal system of organization for cooperative marketing of farm products.

The vigorous efforts of this Administration towards broadening our exports market will be continued.

The Republican Party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to insure its prosperity and success.

**Mining**

*Mining*—This Administration has accomplished much in improving the conditions affecting this great fundamental industry and pledges itself to continue its efforts.

**Highways**

*Highways*—We pledge a continuation of our policy of federal co-operation with the states in highway building.

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utilization. In appropriations therefor the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

**Labor**

*Labor*—The increasing stress of industrial life, the constant and necessary efforts because of world competition to increase production and decrease costs, have made it especially incumbent on those in authority to protect labor from undue exactions. We commend Congress for its prompt adoption of a constitutional amendment authorizing Congress to legislate on the subject of child labor and we urge the prompt consideration of that amendment by the legislatures of the various States.

We favor high standards for wages, working and living conditions among the women employed in industry.

We pledge a continuance of the efforts of the Republican Administration to eliminate the seven-day 12-hour work week in industry. We regard with satisfaction the elimination of the 12-hour day in the steel industry and the agreement eliminating the seven-day work week of alternate 13 and 11 hours, brought about through the efforts of President Harding and President Coolidge.

We declare our faith in the principle of the eight-hour day.

We pledge a continuation of the work of rehabilitating workers in industry as conducted by the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and favor adequate appropriations for this purpose.

We favor a broader and better system of vocational education, a more adequate system of Federal Free Employment Agencies with facilities for assisting the movements of seasonal and migratory labor, including farm labor, and an ample organization for bringing the man and the job together.

**Railroads**

*Railroads*—We believe that the American people demand a careful and scientific readjustment of railroad rate schedules with a view to the encouragement of agriculture and basic industries without the impairment of necessary railroad service.

The present laws regulating railroads which were enacted to meet post-war conditions should be modified from time to time as experience develops the necessity therefor.

The consolidation of railroads subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission into fewer competitive systems will result in advantages to the public.

**DEMOCRATIC—continued****Railroads—continued**

power of the states to regulate purely intrastate transportation. It must therefore be so rewritten that the high purposes which the public welfare demands may be accomplished.

Railroad freight rates should be so readjusted as to give the bulky, basic, low-priced raw commodities, such as agricultural products, coal, and ores the lowest rates, placing the higher rates upon more valuable and less bulky manufactured products.

**Government Control**

*Regulation of Corporations Controlling Necessities of Life*—We pledge the Democratic party to regulate by governmental agencies the anthracite coal industry and all other corporations controlling the necessities of life where public welfare has been subordinated to private interests.

**Merchant Marine**

*Merchant Marine*—We oppose as illogical and unsound all efforts to overcome by subsidies the handicaps to American shipping and commerce imposed by Republican policies.

We condemn the practice of certain American railroads in favoring foreign ships, and pledge ourselves to correct such discriminations. We declare for an American-owned merchant marine, American built, and manned by American crews, which is essential for naval security in war, and is a protection to the American farmer and manufacturer against excessive ocean freight charges on products of farm and factory.

We declare that the government should own and operate such merchant ships as will insure the accomplishment of these purposes, and to continue such operation so long as it may be necessary without obstructing the development and growth of a privately owned American flag shipping.

**Waterways, Flood Control**

We favor and will promote deep waterways from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and to the Atlantic Ocean.

*Flood Control and Water Transportation*—We favor a policy for the fostering and building up of water transportation through the improvement of inland waterways and the removal of discrimination against water transportation. Flood control and the lowering of flood levels is essential to the safety of life and property, the productivity of our lands, the navigability of our streams, and the reclaiming of our wet and overflowed lands and the creation of hydroelectric power. We favor the expeditious construction of flood relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado Rivers and also such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found to be feasible and practical.

We favor liberal appropriations for prompt coordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water-power development on navigable streams and their tributaries, to secure reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

We favor the suspension of the granting of Federal water power licenses by the Federal Water Power Commission until Congress has received reports from the Water Power Commission with regard to applications for such licenses.

**Veterans of Wars**

*Veterans of Wars*—We favor generous appropriations, honest management and sympathetic care and assistance in the hospitalization, rehabilitation and compensation of the veterans of all wars and their dependents. The humanizing of the Veterans' Bureau is imperatively required.

**Conservation**

*Conservation*—We pledge recovery of the Navy's oil reserves, and all other parts of the public domain, which have been fraudulently or illegally leased or otherwise wrongfully transferred to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; revision of the water power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to the public domain, that may be essential to its conservation and honest and efficient use on behalf of the people of the country. We believe that the nation should retain title to its water power and we favor the expeditious creation and development of our water power. We favor strict public control and conservation of all the nation's natural resources, such as coal, iron, oil and timber, and their use in such manner as may be to the best interest of our citizens.

The conservation of migratory birds, the establishment of game preserves, and the protection and conservation of wild life is of importance to agriculturists as well as sportsmen.

Our disappearing natural resource of timber calls for a national policy of reforestation.

**Education and Relief**

*Education*—We believe that each state, being responsible for the intellectual and moral qualifications of its citizens and for the expenditure of the moneys collected by taxation for the support of its schools,

**REPUBLICAN—continued**

The Labor Board provisions of the present law should be amended whenever it appears necessary to meet changing conditions. Collective bargaining, mediation and voluntary arbitration are the most important steps in maintaining peaceful labor relations and should be encouraged. We do not believe in compulsory action at any time in the settlement of labor disputes.

Public opinion must be the final arbiter in any crisis which so vitally affects public welfare as the suspension of transportation. Therefore the interests of the public require the maintenance of an impartial tribunal which can in an emergency make an investigation of the facts and publish its conclusions. This is essential as a basis for popular judgment.

We favor a stable, consistent and constructive policy toward our railroads.

**Government Control**

**Government Control**—The Republican Party stands now, as always, against all attempts to put the Government into business. American industry should not be compelled to struggle against Government competition. The right of the Government to regulate, supervise and control public utilities in the public interest we believe should be strengthened, but we are firmly opposed to the nationalization or Government ownership of public utilities.

**Coal**—The Government has no constitutional power to regulate prices but can bring its influence to bear by the powerful instrument afforded by full publicity. When through industrial conflict the supply is threatened, the President should have authority to appoint a commission to act as mediators and as a medium for voluntary arbitration. In the event of a strike the control of distribution should be invoked to prevent profiteering.

**Merchant Marine**

**Merchant Marine**—The Republican Party stands for a strong and permanent merchant marine, built by Americans, owned by Americans, and manned by Americans, to secure the necessary contact with world markets for the sale of our surplus agricultural and manufactured products, to protect our shippers and importers from exorbitant ocean freight rates and to become a powerful arm of our national defense.

That part of the merchant marine which is now owned by the Government should continue to be improved by economical and efficient management with reduction of the losses now paid by the Government through taxation until it is finally placed on so sound a basis that with ocean freight rates becoming normal, due to improvement in international affairs, it can be sold to American citizens.

**Waterways, Flood Control and Water Power**

**Waterways, Etc.**—We favor the construction of the most feasible waterways from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico, and the improvement and development of rivers, harbors and waterways, inland and coastwise, to the fullest extent justified by the present and potential tonnage available.

We favor a comprehensive survey of the conditions under which the flood waters of the Colorado River may be controlled and utilized for the benefit of the people of the States which border thereon.

The Federal Water Power Act establishes a national water power policy, and the way has thereby been opened for the greatest water power development in our history under conditions which preserve the initiative of our people while protecting the public interests.

**Veterans of Wars**

**The World War Veterans**—The Republican Party pledges a continuing and increasing solicitude for all those suffering any disability as a result of service to the United States in time of war. Appropriations totaling over \$1,100,000,000 made by the Republican Congress for the care of the disabled evidenced the unmistakable purpose of the Government not to consider costs when the welfare of these men is concerned.

We pledge ourselves to meet the problems of the future affecting the care of our wounded and disabled in a spirit of liberality, and with that thoughtful consideration which will enable the Government to give to the individual veteran that full measure of care guaranteed by an effective administration machinery to which his patriotic services and sacrifices entitle him.

**Conservation**

**Conservation**—We believe in the development, effective and efficient, whether of oil, timber, coal or water power resources of the Government, only as needed and only after the public need has become a matter of public record, protected with scrupulous carefulness and vigilant watchfulness against waste, speculation and monopoly.

The natural resources of the country belong to all the people and are a part of an estate belonging to generations yet unborn. The government policy should be to safeguard, develop and utilize these possessions.

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**DEMOCRATIC—continued**

shall use its sovereign right in all matters pertaining to education. The Federal Government should offer to the states such counsel, advice and aid as may be made available through the Federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

**Constitutional Guarantees**

**Freedom of Religion; of Speech; of Press**—The Democratic Party reaffirms its adherence and devotion to those cardinal principles contained in the Constitution and the precepts upon which our government is founded, that Congress shall make no laws respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances, that the Church and the State shall be and remain separate, and that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States. These principles we pledge ourselves ever to defend and maintain. We insist at all times upon obedience to the orderly processes of the law and deplore and condemn any effort to arouse religious or racial dissension.

**Muscle Shoals**

**Muscle Shoals and Fertilizers**—We reaffirm and pledge the fulfillment of the policy, with reference to Muscle Shoals, as declared and passed by the Democratic majority of the Sixty-fourth Congress in the National Defence Act of 1916 "for the production of nitrates or other products needed for munitions of war and useful in the manufacture of fertilizers."

We hold that the production of cheaper and higher-grade fertilizers is essential to agricultural prosperity. We demand prompt action by Congress for the operation of the Muscle Shoals plants to maximum capacity in the production, distribution and sale of commercial fertilizers to the farmers of the country, and we oppose any legislation that limits the production of fertilizers at Muscle Shoals by limiting the amount of power to be used in their manufacture.

**Fraudulent Stock Sales**

**Fraudulent Stock Sales**—We favor the immediate passage of such legislation as may be necessary to enable the states efficiently to enforce their laws relating to the gradual financial strangling of innocent investors, workers and consumers caused by the indiscriminate promotion, re-financing and reorganizing of corporations on an inflated and over-capitalized basis, resulting already in the undermining and collapse of many railroads, public service and industrial corporations, manifesting itself in unemployment, irreparable loss and waste, and which constitute a serious menace to the stability of our economic system.

**Popular Elections**

**Popular Elections**—We pledge the Democratic Party to a policy which will prevent members of either House who fail of re-election from participating in the subsequent sessions of Congress. This can be accomplished by fixing the days of convening the Congress immediately after the biennial, national election; and to this end we favor granting the right to the people of the several states to vote on proposed constitutional amendments on this subject.

**Probation**

**Probation**—We favor the extension of the probation principle to the Courts of the United States.

**Campaign Contributions**

**Campaign Contributions**—We demand that national elections shall hereafter be kept free from the poison of excessive private contributions. To this end, we favor reasonable means of publicity, at public expense, so that candidates, properly before the people for Federal offices, may present their claims at a minimum of cost. Such publicity should precede the Primary and the election. We favor the prohibition of individual contributions, direct and indirect, to the campaign funds of Congressmen, Senators or Presidential candidates, beyond a reasonable sum to be fixed in the law, for both individual contributions and total expenditures, with requirements for full publicity. We advocate a complete revision of the Corrupt Practice Act to prevent Newberryism and the election evils disclosed by recent investigations.

**Rights of the States**

**The Rights of the States**—We demand that the States of the Union shall be preserved in all their vigor and power. They constitute a bulwark against the centralizing and destructive tendencies of the Republican Party.

We condemn the efforts of the Republican administration to nationalize the functions and duties of the States.

We oppose the extension of bureaucracy, the creation of unnecessary bureaus and Federal agencies and the multiplication of offices and officeholders.

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government essential to the preservation of the free institutions of our Republic.

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## REPUBLICAN—continued

## Education

**Education and Relief**—The Federal Government shall as far as lies within its power give to the people and the states the benefit of its counsel. We approve the recommendation for the creation of a cabinet post of Education and Relief.

## National Defense

**Universal Mobilization in Time of War**—We believe that in time of war the nation should draft for its defense not only its citizens but also every resource which may contribute to success. The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such services as may be required, and to stabilize the prices of services and essential commodities, whether utilized in actual warfare or private activity.

**Army and Navy**—There must be no further weakening of our regular Army. We advocate appropriations sufficient to provide for the training of all members of the National Guard, the Citizens' Military Training Camps, the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Officers' Reserve Corps, and the reserves who may offer themselves for service.

We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the Navy to the full strength provided the United States by the letter and spirit of the Limitation of Armament Conference.

## Immigration and Naturalization

**Immigration**—The immigration law recently enacted is designed to protect the inhabitants of our country, not only the American citizen, but also the alien already with us who is seeking to secure an economic foothold for himself and family against the competition which would come from unrestricted immigration.

**Naturalization**—We favor the improvement of our naturalization laws and the adoption of methods which will exert a helpful influence among the foreign-born population and provide for the education of the alien in our language, customs, ideals and standards of life.

## Territories and Dependencies

**Hawaii—Alaska**—We favor a continuance for the Territory of Hawaii of Federal assistance in harbor improvements, the appropriation of its share of federal funds and the systematic extension of the settlement of public lands by the Hawaiian race.

We endorse the policy of the present administration with reference to Alaska and favor a continuance of the constructive development of the Territory.

**Philippines**—If the time comes when it is evident to Congress that independence would be better for the people of the Philippines with respect to both their domestic concerns and their status in the world, and the Filipino people then desire complete independence, the American Government will gladly accord it. The results of a careful study of the conditions in the Philippine Islands convinces us that the time for such action has not yet arrived.

## Reclamation

**Reclamation**—Federal reclamation of the arid and semi-arid lands in the West has been the subject of intensive study in the Department of the Interior during the past fiscal year. New policies and methods of operation have been adopted which promise to insure the successful accomplishment of the objects sought. The completion of this reorganization plan is regarded as one of the achievements of the present Administration in the interests of farmers immediately and of all the people ultimately.

## Aviation

**Commercial Aviation**—We advocate the early enactment of such legislation and the taking of such steps by the Government as will tend to promote commercial aviation.

## The Negro

**The Negro**—We urge the Congress to enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law, so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime.

We believe that much of the misunderstanding which now exists can be eliminated by humane and sympathetic study of its causes.

## Honest Government

**Honest Government**—We recognize the duty of constant vigilance to preserve at all times a clean and honest Government and to bring to the bar of justice every defiler of the public service, in or out of office.

Dishonesty and corruption are not political attributes. The recent Congressional investigations have exposed instances in both parties of men in public office who are willing to sell official favors and men out of office who are willing to buy them, in some cases with money and in others with influence.

We demand the speedy, fearless and impartial prosecution of all wrong-doers, without regard to political affiliations or position; but we declare no greater wrong can be committed against the people

Continued on page 359

## DEMOCRATIC—continued

## National Defense

**War**—War is a relic of barbarism, and it is justifiable only as a measure of defense.

In the event of war in which the man power of the nation is drafted, all other resources should likewise be drafted. This will tend to discourage war by depriving it of its profits.

**Disarmament, War Referendum and National Defense**—We demand a strict and sweeping reduction of armaments by land and sea, so that there shall be no competitive military program or naval building. Until international agreements to this end have been made, we advocate an army and navy adequate for our national safety.

Our government should secure a joint agreement with all nations for world disarmament and also for a referendum of war, except in case of actual or threatened attack.

Those who must furnish the blood and bear the burdens imposed by war should, whenever possible, be consulted before this supreme sacrifice is required of them.

## Immigration

**Asiatic Immigration**—We pledge ourselves to maintain our established position in favor of the exclusion of Asiatic immigration.

## Territories and Dependencies

**Philippine Independence**—The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable government and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

**Alaska**—We pledge ourselves to correct the evils which have grown up in the administration of that rich domain.

An adequate form of local self-government for Alaska must be provided, and to that end we favor the establishment of a full territorial form enjoyed by all the territories except Alaska during the last century of American history.

**Territory of Hawaii**—We believe in a policy for continuing the improvements of the National Park, the harbors and breakwaters, and the Federal roads of the Territory of Hawaii.

**Virgin Islands**—We recommend legislation for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Virgin Islands.

## Reclamation

**Reclamation**—The arid and semi-arid lands of the West are located in the public-land states, and therefore, it is the duty of the government to utilize their resources by reclamation. The Democratic Party pledges itself actively, efficiently and economically to carry on the reclamation projects, and to make equitable adjustment for the mistakes the government has made.

## Aviation

**Aviation**—We favor a sustained development of aviation both by the government and commercially.

## Honest Government

**Honest Government**—We pledge the Democratic Party to drive from public places all who make barter of our national honor, its resources or the administration of its laws; to punish those guilty of these offenses.

To put none but the honest in public office; to practice economy in the expenditure of public money; to reverence and respect the rights of all under the Constitution.

## Law and Order

**Law Enforcement**—The Republican administration has failed to enforce the Prohibition Law; is guilty of trafficking in liquor permits, and has become the protector of violators of this law.

The Democratic Party pledges itself to respect and enforce the Constitution and all laws.

## Women

**Activities of Women**—We welcome the women of the nation to their rightful place by the side of men in the control of the government whose burdens they have always shared.

The Democratic Party congratulates them upon the essential part which they have taken in the progress of our country, and the zeal with which they are using their political power to aid the enactment of beneficent laws and the exaction of fidelity in the public service.

## Private Monopolies

**Private Monopolies**—We declare that a private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable, and pledge the Democratic Party to a vigorous enforcement of existing laws against monopoly and illegal combinations, and to the enactment of such further measures as may be necessary.—Extracts.

## Progressive Party

Temporary

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

**Date of Organization:** Not yet organized. National Committee instructed to meet Nov. 29, 1924, to issue call for special national convention for Jan., 1925, to consider forming permanent party; **National headquarters:** Chicago, Ill.; **Chairman of National Joint Executive Committee:** John M. Nelson, U. S. Repr., Wisc.; **Members of National Joint Executive Campaign Committee:** Robert M. LaFollette, jr., vice-chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth Glendower Evans, Rudolph Spreckles, William H. Johnston, D. B. Robertson, Morris Hillquit, Basil M. Manly, Mrs. Mabel Costigan, and one vacancy; **The National Convention:** The convention call was issued by the Conference for Progressive Political Action to all independent party units to send delegates. Convention at Cleveland, O., July 4. Adjourned July 5, 1924. Keynote speech delivered on July 4 by William H. Johnston, President, International Association of Machinists, and Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. Endorsed the presidential candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette. Convention did not choose a vice-presidential nominee. On July 19 Burton K. Wheeler, U. S. Senator, Mont., was named vice-presidential nominee.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

**Name:** Robert Marion LaFollette; **Residence:** Madison, Wis.; **Present occupation:** U. S. Senator; **Place and date**

**of birth:** Primrose, Wis., June 14, 1855; **Parents:** Josiah and Mary Ferguson; **Paternal ancestry:** Scotch-Irish, French Huguenot; **Religion:** Baptist; **Family:** Married Belle Case of Baraboo, Wis., Dec. 31, 1881; two sons, Robert M., jr., Philip F.; two daughters, Mary S., Fola; **Education and training:** B. S., University of Wisconsin, 1879; LL.D., 1901; **Public offices held:** District Attorney, Dane Co., Wis., 1880-4; member, U. S. House of Representatives, 1885-1891; Elected Gov. of Wis., 1901-7; Elected U. S. Senate, 1905-29. **Affiliations:** Mason, 32d degree.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

**Name:** Burton Kendall Wheeler; **Residence:** Butte, Montana; **Present occupation:** U. S. Senator; **Place and date of birth:** Hudson, Mass., Feb. 27, 1882; **Parents:** Asa Leonard and Mary Elizabeth; **Religion:** Methodist; **Family:** Married Lulu M. White, of Albany, Ill., Sept. 7, 1907; five children; **Education and training:** LL. B., University of Michigan, 1905; **Public offices held:** Member Montana House of Repr., 1911-13; U. S. Attorney, Dist. of Mont., 1913-18; member U. S. Senate, 1923-29; **Affiliations:** Member of Montana Bar Association; Mason, 32d degree.

#### Platform of Robert M. LaFollette

Submitted with his candidacy for president to the Conference for Progressive Political Action at Cleveland July 4, 1924.

**The House Cleaning**—We pledge a complete housecleaning in the Department of Justice, the Department of the Interior, and the other executive departments. We demand that the power of the Federal Government be used to crush private monopoly, not to foster it.

**Natural Resources**—We pledge recovery of the navy's oil reserves and all other parts of the public domain which have been fraudulently or illegally leased, or otherwise wrongfully transferred, to the control of private interests; vigorous prosecution of all public officials, private citizens and corporations that participated in these transactions; complete revision of the water-power act, the general leasing act, and all other legislation relating to the public domain. We favor public ownership of the nation's water power and the creation and development of a national super-water-power system, including Muscle Shoals, to supply at actual cost light and power for the people and nitrate for the farmers, and strict public control and permanent conservation of all the nation's resources, including coal, iron and other ores, oil and timber lands, in the interest of the people.

**Railroads**—We favor repeal of the Esch-Cummins railroad law and the fixing of railroad rates upon the basis of actual, prudent investment and cost of service. We pledge speedy enactment of the Howell-Barkley Bill for the adjustment of controversies between railroads and their employees. We declare for public ownership of railroads with definite safeguards against bureaucratic control, as the only final solution of the transportation problem.

**Tax Reduction**—We favor reduction of Federal taxes upon individual incomes and legitimate business, limiting tax exactions strictly to the requirements of the government administered with rigid economy, particularly by

curtailment of the eight hundred million dollars now annually expended for the army and navy in preparation for future wars; by the recovery of the hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from the Treasury through fraudulent war contracts and the corrupt leasing of the public resources; and by diligent action to collect the accumulated interest upon the eleven billion dollars owing us by foreign governments.

We favor a taxation policy providing for immediate reductions upon moderate incomes, large increases in the inheritance tax rates upon large estates to prevent the indefinite accumulation by inheritance of great fortunes in a few hands; taxes upon excess profits to penalize profiteering, and complete publicity, under proper safeguards, of all Federal tax returns.

**The Courts**—We favor submitting to the people a constitutional amendment providing that Congress may be enacting a statute make it effective over a judicial veto.

We favor such amendment to the Constitution as may be necessary to provide for the election of all Federal Judges, without party designation, for fixed terms not exceeding ten years, by direct vote of the people.

**The Farmers**—We favor drastic reduction of the exorbitant duties on manufactures provided in the Fordney-McCumber tariff legislation, the prohibiting of gambling by speculators and profiteers in agricultural products; the reconstruction of the Federal Reserve and Farm Loan Systems, so as to eliminate control by usurers, speculators and international financiers, and to make the credit of the nation available upon fair terms to all and without discrimination to business men, farmers and home-builders. We advocate the calling of a special session of Congress to pass legislation for the relief of American agriculture. We favor

## Platform of Robert M. LaFollette—continued

such further legislation as may be needful or helpful in promoting and protecting cooperative enterprises. We demand that the Interstate Commerce Commission proceed forthwith to reduce by an approximation to pre-war levels the present freight rates on agricultural products, including live stock, and upon the materials required upon American farms for agricultural purposes.

**Labor**—We favor abolition of the use of injunctions in labor disputes and declare for complete protection of the right of farmers and industrial workers to organize, bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, and conduct without hindrance cooperative enterprises.

We favor prompt ratification of the Child Labor amendment, and subsequent enactment of a Federal law to protect children in industry.

**Postal Service**—We favor the enactment of the postal salary adjustment measure (S. 1898) for the employees of the postal service, passed by the first session of the 68th Congress, vetoed by the President and now awaiting further consideration by the next session of Congress.

We endorse liberalizing the Civil Service Retirement Law along the lines of S. 3011 now pending in Congress.

**War Veterans**—We favor adjusted compensation for the veterans of the late war, not as charity, but as a matter of right, and we demand that the money necessary to meet this obligation of the government be raised by taxes laid upon wealth in proportion to the ability to pay, and declare our opposition to the sales tax or any other device to shift this obligation onto the backs of the poor

Error's Note—Since the Socialist Party and the National Independent Party have endorsed the Progressive Party ticket their separate platforms have not been given.

in higher prices and increased cost of living. We do not regard the payment at the end of a long period of a small insurance as provided by the law recently passed as in any just sense a discharge of the nation's obligations to the veterans of the late war.

**Great Lakes to Sea**—We favor a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the sea.

**Popular Sovereignty**—We favor such amendments to the Federal Constitution as may be necessary to provide for the direct nomination and election of the President, to extend the initiative and referendum to the Federal Government, and to insure a popular referendum for or against war except in cases of actual invasion.

**Peace on Earth**—We denounce the mercenary system of foreign policy under recent administrations in the interests of financial imperialists, oil monopolists and international bankers, which has at times degraded our State Department from its high service as a strong and kindly intermediary of defenseless governments to a trading outpost for those interests and concession-seekers engaged in the exploitations of weaker nations, as contrary to the will of the American people, destructive of domestic development and provocative of war. We favor an active foreign policy to bring about a revision of the Versailles treaty in accordance with the terms of the armistice, and to promote firm treaty agreements with all nations to outlaw wars, abolish conscription, drastically reduce land, air and naval armaments, and guarantee public referendums on peace and war.—*Extracts.*

## National Prohibition Party

## 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

*Date of organization:* September 1, 1869; *National headquarters:* Chicago, Ill.; *Chairman of National Committee:* Dr. B. E. P. Prugh; *Officers of Executive Committee:* Vice Chrmn., John C. Bell, Calif.; Secy., E. L. G. Hohenthal, Conn.; Treas., Mrs. Mamie Colvin, N. Y.; *The National Convention:* Convened at Columbus, O. June 5, Adjourned June 6, 1924. The keynote address delivered by Mr. Herman P. Faris, Chairman of National Convention, June 5. Herman P. Faris elected presidential nominee. (Miss) Marie C. Brehm elected vice-presidential nominee.

## Record of Presidential Nominee

*Name:* Herman Preston Faris; *Residence:* Clinton, Henry Co., Mo.; *Present Occupation:* Banker—Manager of Brinkerhoff-Faris Trust & Savings Co. for 37 years. *Place of birth:* Bellefontaine, O.; *Parents:* Samuel D. Faris and Sarah Plumer Preston; *Paternal Ancestry:* Scotch-Irish; *Religion:* Presbyterian; *Family:* Married in 1880. First wife died, 1909; Married second time in 1911. Three daughters, six grandchildren; *Education and Training:* Common school and thirty-five years' platform work. One year as printer's "Devil" in 1872. Entered present employment in 1873 as office-boy. Became partner in 1882. Incorporated Company in 1887. Became manager in 1887; *Public offices held:* City Councilman.

## Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

*Name:* (Miss) Marie Caroline Brehm; *Residence:* Long Beach, Calif.; *Present occupation:* Lecturer; *Place of birth:* Sandusky, O.; *Parents:* William Henry and Elizabeth Catherine Rhode; *Paternal ancestry:* German

and Alsace Lorraine French; *Religion:* Presbyterian; *Family:* Unmarried; *Education and training:* Public schools, state normal, private lessons in singing, languages, and civics. Teacher in public schools. Cashier and Book-keeping. Lecturer—1892, W. C. T. U.; 1906-1916, General Assembly Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. Lectured in Ireland, England, Holland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Canada, and United States; *Public offices held:* Member of City Planning Commission, Long Beach, Calif., 3 years; *Affiliations:* Superintendent, Sunday School; President, Illinois N. C. Temperance Union; National Superintendent, Suffrage Department, National N. C. Temperance Union.

## 1924 Platform

Adopted at National Convention at Columbus, O., June 5, 1924.

**Our Party and Its Philosophy**—A law conferring a right will enforce itself, but a law prohibiting a wrong, financially and politically entrenched, requires a party thoroughly committed to its maintenance and enforcement.

**International Relations**—We support the proposal for the entry of this Country into the Court of International Justice.

**Labor, Capital and the General Public**—While demanding justice for both Labor and Capital, we declare that the interests of the general public are paramount to both. Therefore, we favor the speedy enactment by Congress and the several state Legislatures, each in its respective jurisdiction, of such legislation as shall impartially protect all three of these classes.

**Agriculture**—If given power, we will by appropriate legislation endeavor to secure to the farmer his just share of the proceeds of his toil.

**Conservation**—All natural resources should be held perpetually and operated to produce revenue for the use of the Government. They must not be ruthlessly squandered by men or corporations for their own enrichment, nor must they become the collateral of political parties for promissory notes issued for value received.

**Unjust Ballot Laws**—We denounce the enactment by the Republican and Democratic parties in many states of unjust and discriminatory election laws, that make it almost, and in some states entirely impossible for minor parties to retain their place on the official ballot, or for new parties to be formed, and we demand their repeal.

**The Bible in the Schools**—The Bible is the Magna Charta of human liberty and national safety and is of highest educational value. Therefore it should have large place in our public schools.

**Americanization of Aliens**—We declare for an immediate, scientific investigation, looking forward to a constructive program for Americanizing aliens.

**Separation of Departments of Government**—We deplore

the prevailing disregard of the parties in power of the Constitutional division of governmental powers into Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches, and when placed in authority we pledge strict observance of such division.

**Woman and the Home**—We approve and adopt the program of the National League of Women Voters for public welfare in government in so far as a strict regard for the division of powers under our dual form of government will permit.

**Civil Service**—We favor the extension of the merit system to all the agencies of the Executive branch of our government.

**Free Institutions**—We favor freedom of speech, a free press, our free public school system, and compulsory attendance in our public schools. We are unalterably opposed to public monies being used for sectarian purposes. We favor keeping open to public inspection all places where public wards are cared for.—*Extracts.*

## Commonwealth Land Party

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

**Date of organization:** 1916. Party previously known as The Single Tax Party. New name adopted at 1924 National Convention; **National headquarters:** New York City; **Chairman of National Committee:** Herman G. Loew, N. J.; **Campaign Manager:** Robert C. Macauley, Pa.; **Officers of National Executive Committee:** Treas., A. Bourgeois, Secy., R. C. Macauley, Natl. Organizer, James A. Robinson, Calif. **The National Convention:** Convened at New York City Feb. 8. Adjourned Feb. 9, 1924. William Wallace was elected presidential nominee. J. C. Lincoln was elected vice-presidential nominee.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

**Name:** William James Wallace; **Residence:** Newark, N. J.; **Place of birth:** New York City; **Parents:** James Wallace and Elizabeth King; **Paternal Ancestry:** Scotch; **Religion:** Presbyterian; **Family:** Married; **Education and training:** City College of New York City. Fifty years' experience in metal goods and manufacturing electrical machinery.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

**Name:** J. C. Lincoln; **Residence:** Cleveland, O.; **Present occupation:** Electrical engineer; **Place and date of birth:** Painsville, O., July 17, 1866; **Religion:** Congregationalist; **Family:** Married; **Education and training:** Ohio State University. In 1895 organized the Lincoln Electric Co. in Cleveland; **Affiliations:** Director of the American Welding Society, member of the American Institute of Electrical Engineering and member of the Cleveland Engineering Society.

#### 1924 Platform

Adopted at National Convention at New York City, Feb. 9, 1924.

We demand that the full Rent of Land be collected by the government in place of all direct and indirect taxes and that all buildings, machinery, implements and improvements on land, all industry, thrift and enterprise, all wages, salaries, incomes and every product of labor or intellect, be entirely exempt from taxation.

We pledge ourselves to formulate into law such measures as will make effective these demands.—*Extracts.*

## American Party

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

**Date of organization:** June 3, 1924; **National headquarters:** Pittsburgh, Pa.; **Chairman of National Committee and Campaign Manager:** W. M. Likins; **Officers of National Committee:** W. A. Roulston, Pa., C. E. Roland, Pa., Prof. A. M. Van Tine, Pa., E. V. Bowker, Pa., W. H. Williams, Pa., one vacancy; **The National Convention:** (1st) Convened June 3, 1924, at Columbus, O. Adjourned on same day. (Party organized at this meeting.) Judge Gilbert O. Nations elected presidential nominee, Charles H. Randall elected vice-presidential nominee.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

**Name:** Judge Gilbert Owen Nations; **Residence:** Washington, D. C.; **Present occupation:** Publisher, "The Protestant." Professor of Roman law, canon law and

legal history, American University, since 1920; **Place and date of birth:** Perry Co., Mo., Aug. 18, 1866; **Parents:** James W. Nations and Caroline L. Hart; **Paternal ancestry:** English; **Religion:** Christian (Disciples); **Family:** Married Sallie E. McFarland, of Coffman, Mo., Dec. 5, 1886. Seven children; **Education and training:** B. S., Lebanon (Ohio) University, 1890; Ph. M., Hiram (Ohio) College, 1900; Ph. D., American University, 1919; practiced law in Missouri until 1916; **Public Offices held:** Judge of Probate Court, Farmington, Mo., 1903-11; **Affiliations:** Mason, 32d degree.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

**Name:** Charles Hiram Randall; **Residence:** Pasadena, Calif.; **Present occupation:** Printer and Publisher; **Place**

## American Party—continued

*and date of birth:* Auburn, Nebr., July 23, 1865; *Parents:* Rev. Elias J. and Sarah F. Schooley; *Religion:* Methodist; *Family:* Married May E. Stanley, of Gardner, Ill., Nov. 15, 1885; *Education and training:* Public schools. Began as editor and publisher "*The Observer*," Kimball, Nebr., 1885, and continued as editor various weekly independent newspapers; editor "Highland Park" (Los Angeles) "*California Herald*," 1906-15; *Public offices held:* Member Municipal Park Commission, Los Angeles, 1909-10; member Calif. House of Representatives, 1911-12; member 64th Congress (1915-17), 9th Calif. Distr. (elected on Prohibition and Democratic tickets). Elected to 65th Congress (1917-19) and to 66th Congress (1919-1921).

*Affiliations:* City Club, Los Angeles, Calif.; Vice-President of M. E. National Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals; treasurer, American Section, World Prohibition Federation.

### 1924 Platform

Adopted at National Convention at Columbus, O., June 3, 1924.

*God and Jesus Christ Recognized*—We recognize God the Father Almighty and Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son, as the rightful Rulers of this world, also the Brotherhood of man and believe that the only way real world peace and national good will can be produced is through the application of the teachings of Jesus Christ. We favor the recognition of God in our National and State Constitutions. We insist that all citizens shall have full religious freedom so long as the exercise of the privilege under it does not infringe upon the rights of others or violate the laws of the land.

*Law Enforcement*—The American Party promises to enforce rigidly the Eighteenth Amendment as well as all other laws.

*Controlling Liquors*—Additional laws should be enacted including the following:

- (a) All the whiskey now in governmental warehouses should immediately be confiscated.
- (b) No liquors containing any alcohol shall be manufactured except under governmental supervision for industrial, scientific and medicinal purposes.
- (c) Foreign embassies should be compelled to comply with the same rigid laws that apply to the American Citizen.

(d) The use of all fermented wines for religious purposes should be prohibited.

*Marriage and Divorce*—We favor the enactment of Federal laws governing marriage and divorce.

*Polygamy*—We demand enactment of Federal laws to prohibit the teaching and practice of polygamy.

*White Slavery*—We recommend that all states pass laws providing more severe punishment for those practicing white slavery and for kidnapping.

*Taxes*—We favor the reduction, and wherever possible, the abolition, of taxes or duties on staple foods and other necessities of life, and the revision of all tax laws so as to adjust the burden of taxes according to the financial ability of the taxpayer.

*Election Frauds*—We demand that effective laws be enacted that will add forfeiture of citizenship for a period of ten years to the punishment of any person convicted of election frauds. During such period of disfranchisement, all such persons should be subject to all laws governing aliens. We advocate standing rewards for infor-

mation that may lead to the uncovering of election frauds.

*Foreign Language Schools*—All schools established by groups of foreign born for the teaching of either foreign language or foreign ideals should be definitely forbidden by law as fostering an alien element in our midst.

*Foreign Language Papers*—All foreign language periodicals should be required to carry an exact translation in English of all articles or advertisements contained therein.

*Education*—We stand for the early establishment of a national department of education, headed by a secretary of education sitting in the President's cabinet. We believe that such officers should be American-born.

We demand that all children up to sixteen years of age, regardless of race, color or creed, attend the public schools and recommend the following conditions:

- (a) The school term of not less than 160 days.
- (b) All instruction in the elementary schools in the English language.
- (c) An oath of allegiance required of all teachers and other public school employes.
- (d) The reading of at least ten verses of the Bible daily in the public schools.
- (e) Textbooks and books of reference approved by the Department of Education, and books rejected by the Department not to be purchased by any board or used in any school.
- (f) No teacher or other public employé to wear any religious garb or regalia while on duty.
- (g) The American Flag in every school and the pupils properly instructed to salute.

*Department Rulings*—We believe that rulings by department heads should be subject to review by the courts.

*Church and State*—We stand for the preservation of our free institutions and for the absolute separation of Church and State. We oppose the appropriation of public funds for sectarian institutions.

*Conservation*—We declare in favor of a rational plan of conservation of forests, waterpower, and other natural resources. A national commission on natural resources should be established which should have power to regulate the use of timber with a view of maintaining a continuous supply. We also believe that the exportation of oil and coal should be checked by an export duty in the interests of future generations of Americans.

*Farmers*—We believe that the government should effectively cooperate with the farmers to the end that adequate facilities may be provided for transporting farm products to the consumer with a minimum of intervention by middlemen, warehouses, and elevators. There should be an immediate reduction in railroad freight rates, easily possible through an equitable physical valuation of railroad properties.

*Immigration*—We welcome those who have come from less favored lands to enjoy with us our liberties, but we demand that they respect our laws and the Christian foundation upon which these liberties are built; we demand the deportation of all aliens and the disfranchisement of all citizens who persistently violate our prohibition and other national laws; and we demand that the privilege of aliens to come into our country be determined in their home land and that it be based upon their physical and moral fitness, their education, their intent to establish their families here, their ability to support them, and their expressed purpose to become loyal American citizens. Upon their arrival here they should have all the rights and privileges of citizens except the franchise and

the right to hold office, which should be given them only when they have become thoroughly familiar with our American institutions and themselves thoroughly Americanized. Immigration should be prohibited for at least five years.

**Free Speech**—We believe in free speech and a free press, but only so far as the exercise of this freedom does not infringe upon the rights of others.

**Civil Service**—We believe in the removal of the administration of government as far as possible from politics; that Civil Service should be extended and that appointments should be made on merit and not as a reward for party service.

**Postal Voting**—We would create a postal voting system whereby persons unavoidably absent from home on election day may cast their ballots. Wherever possible, voting machines should be used.

**Adjusted Compensation**—We favor any righteous law in the interests of our soldiers from time to time.

**Labor**—We believe the workmen should have the right to organize for their mutual protection and betterment of working conditions and that they should be compelled to incorporate subject to jury trial for alleged offenses.

**Tax Exemption Securities**—We demand the immediate passage of laws prohibiting the issuance of tax exempt securities.

**Money**—Money should be a medium of exchange only and not a medium for private exploitation and should be good for all private and public debts, including interest on public debts and duty on imports.

**Great Fortunes**—Great personal fortunes should be limited by law. We recommend that no tax should be levied on incomes of less than \$3,000, with further exemptions in proportion to the number of members of the family. We further declare that all tax returns should constitute public records and should be open for inspection under the same rules and regulations as govern public records in general.

**Inheritance Tax**—We believe that all inheritance should

be subject to a graduated tax up to at least 50 per cent on all inheritances of \$1,000,000.

**Official Dishonesty**—Any public official who uses his position for his own or other private gain should, upon conviction, be immediately disfranchised and the property secured by these dishonest practices should be confiscated.

**War**—We demand that our government at once initiate treaties with all other nations whereby war will be outlawed. We demand the immediate passage of laws providing for the drafting of industries in case of war, the owners of such industries to be compensated at the rate of six (6) per cent per annum, such dividend in no case to exceed the average dividend declared during a period of five years immediately preceding the war. We further demand the abolition of secret treaties and secret diplomacy between nations.

**Home Building**—We insist upon the establishment of a home building bureau in connection with the postal savings bank, the bureau to encourage and assist home seekers. As a means to that end we advocate the following measures:

(a) That the postal savings bank be made accessible to all without limit as to the amount of deposits.

(b) That the rate of interest paid in postal savings be increased to not less than four (4) per cent per annum.

(c) That postal savings bank deposits be first available for financing home building.

(d) That loans be made on homes to be paid off in installments of five (5) per cent per annum.

(e) That the rate of interest to be charged on such loans be one (1) per cent above the rate paid on postal savings deposits.

**Woman's Rights**—We extend an invitation to all women to affiliate with us, granting to such women absolute equality with men in the management of The American Party.

**Initiative and Referendum**—We believe in the initiative and referendum and that federal judges should be elected by the people for a term of not over ten years. We believe in the system of recall and that this should apply to judges as well as other officials.—*Extracts.*

## Workers Party of America

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

**Date of organization:** Dec. 25, 1921; **National headquarters:** Chicago, Ill.; **National Chairman:** W. Z. Foster; **Campaign Manager:** Joseph Manley; **National Executive Secretary-Treasurer:** C. E. Ruthenberg; **The National Convention:** Convened at Chicago July 11, 1924. William Z. Foster was elected Presidential nominee. Benjamin Gitlow was elected Vice-Presidential nominee.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

**Name:** William Z. Foster; **Residence:** Chicago, Ill.; **Place and date of birth:** Taunton, Mass., Feb. 25, 1881. One of 23 children; **Parents:** Father, Irish; Mother, English; **Family:** Married; **Education and training:** Went to work at age of ten after three years of schooling. Has been successively a sculptor's apprentice, type founder, factory worker, steam engineer, steam fitter, railroad brakeman, railroad fireman, logger, salesman, street car motorman, longshoreman, farmer, deep water sailor, and many other occupations. Principal trade is railroad car

inspector; **Affiliations:** Member of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

**Name:** Benjamin Gitlow; **Residence:** New York City; **Place of birth:** New York City; **Ancestry:** Jewish; **Family:** Unmarried; **Education and training:** Elementary education. Garment worker; **Public offices held:** New York State Legislature, 1917.

#### 1924 Platform

Adopted at National Convention at Chicago, Ill., July 11, 1924.

**Workers Must Rule**—In place of the capitalist dictatorship there must be established the rule of the workers. This rule will be established through a Proletarian Revolution which will create a Soviet Government and the Dictatorship of the proletariat.

This Workers' and Farmers' Government will wrest

## Workers Party of America—continued

out of the hands of the capitalists the raw materials and great industries and operate them for the happiness and well-being of the producers. It will build in place of the capitalist system of production a communist system of production.

*For a Mass Farmer-Labor Party*—The Workers Party declares its purpose to continue the struggle to mobilize the workers and exploited farmers for independent political action through a mass Farmer-Labor Party.

*Nationalization of Industry and Workers Control*—The Workers Party declares itself in favor of the immediate nationalization of all large scale industries, and for the organization of the workers in these industries for participation in the management and direction of the industries nationalized, subject only to such general control as will protect the interest of the producers as a whole.

*Compel Industry and the Government to Pay Wages to the Unemployed*—The Workers Party declares that industry must support the unemployed to whom it cannot give work. The government must take the accumulated profits of industry. It must levy excess profit and inheritance taxes to create an unemployment fund, to be administered by the workers, for payment of union wages to workers without jobs. The Workers Party will initiate the organization of unemployment councils to fight for these demands.

*Down With Injunction and the Use of Police and Soldiers Against Workers*—The Workers Party calls upon the workers and exploited farmers to fight with it against the use of injunction in labor disputes, intimidation of strikers through police and soldiers, and the use of criminal syndicalist laws to suppress the demands of the revo-

lutionary workers, as well as other infringements of the rights of the workers.

*Release All Political and Class War Prisoners*—The Workers Party will fight for the immediate and unconditional release of all workers imprisoned because of their political or economic views and for participation in the class struggle.

*Land for the Users—Nationalize the Farmers Marketing Industries*—We demand a system of land tenure which will eliminate landlordism and tenantry and will secure the land to the users thereof. We demand the nationalization of all means of transportation and industries engaged in the preparation and distribution of farm products, with participation of the farmers in the management of these industries.

*Down With Militarism and Imperialist Wars*—The capitalist government of the United States is already preparing for a new war. It is using its power to oppress weaker nations in the interest of the capitalists, as in Haiti, Santo Domingo and Central America. It is holding the Philippine Islands in subjection. It is aiding to force the Dawes plan upon Germany in order to enslave the workers of that country. The Workers Party will fight against militarism and imperialist wars and use of the governmental power for the exploitation of weaker nations. It demands freedom for the Philippines and the right of self-determination for all colonies and territories of the United States.

*Recognize the Workers and Peasants Government of Russia*—The Workers Party will rally the workers for immediate, unconditional recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.—*Extracts.*

## Socialist Labor Party

### 1924 Convention, Record of Nominees, and Platform

*Date of organization:* Approximately 1876. Reorganized 1890; *National headquarters:* New York, N. Y.; *National Secretary:* Arnold Petersen; *Members of National Campaign Committee:* A. Person, H. B. Strebis, O. I. Harris, Mass., A. Burkhardt, Ind., and Richard Koepfel, Wisc.; *The National Convention:* Convened at New York May 11. Adjourned May 13, 1924; Frank T. Johns, Portland, Ore., unanimously elected presidential nominee; Verne L. Reynolds, Baltimore, Md., unanimously elected vice-presidential nominee.

#### Record of Presidential Nominee

*Name:* Frank T. Johns; *Residence:* Portland, Ore.; *Present occupation:* Carpenter; *Place and date of birth:* Sunbury, Pa., Feb. 23, 1889; *Education and Training:* High school, carpenter, post office clerk, letter carrier, worked in shipyards 1919, 1920.

#### Record of Vice-Presidential Nominee

*Name:* Verne L. Reynolds; *Residence:* Baltimore, Md.; *Present occupation:* Steamfitter; *Place and date of birth:* Parsons, Kans., Mar. 7, 1884; *Paternal ancestry:* Northern Ireland; *Education and training:* Farmer, Pipefitter.

#### 1924 Platform

Adopted at National Convention at New York City, May, 1924

In place of the capitalist system the Socialist Labor Party aims to substitute a system of social ownership of the means of production, industrially administered by the workers, who assume control and direction as well as operation of their industrial affairs.

We therefore call upon the wage workers to organize themselves into a revolutionary political organization under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party; and to organize themselves likewise upon the industrial field into a Socialist Industrial Union, in order to consolidate the material power necessary for the establishment of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

We also call upon all intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of working class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting Industrial Self-Government for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder.—*Extracts.*

## President Coolidge States His Position in Accepting the Republican Nomination

Direct extracts from Address of Acceptance delivered by President Coolidge at Continental Memorial Hall on Aug. 14, 1924.

**P**ERHAPS in no peace-time period have there been more remarkable and constructive accomplishments than since March, 1921.

We have ratified separate treaties of world-wide importance with Germany, Austria, Hungary, Colombia, and Mexico. Forty-two other treaties have been approved by the Senate, and six treaties are now awaiting its action. Friendly intercourse has been resumed with Turkey and Greece, and we have established our rights and insured peace in the Far East and the Pacific Ocean. Our foreign relations have been handled with a technical skill and a broad statesmanship which has seldom, if ever, been surpassed.

In the domain of finances a budget system was promptly enacted and put into operation, resulting in tremendous savings. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, our expenditures were \$5,538,000,000, and our surplus was \$86,000,000. For the year just closed our expenditures were \$3,497,000,000, and our surplus exceeded \$500,000,000. This was a reduction in the annual cost of government of \$2,041,000,000. The public debt now stands at about \$21,250,000,000, which is a reduction in three years of about \$2,750,000,000 and means an annual saving in interest of more than \$120,000,000. The \$7,000,000,000 of short-time obligations have all been quietly refunded or paid. The internal-revenue taxes have been reduced twice, and many of them repealed, so that during the present fiscal year the tax receipts will show a saving to the people of approximately \$6,000,000 a day compared with 1921. One Government bond has sold well over 105.

More than 40 per cent of the amount of debts due us from foreign countries has been liquidated, and will provide funds for the retirement of about \$13,000,000,000 of the principal of our national debt in the course of 62 years. These settlements are not only stupendous financial transactions, but demonstrations of the most profound nature of international good faith and the dominion over international relations of moral power. The finances of this Nation have been managed with a genius and a success unmatched since the days of Hamilton.

The Army and Navy have been reduced to a low peace-time basis. Hundreds of millions of accounts have been settled with the railroads. Complaint of unemployment has ceased, wages have increased. Capital has become plentiful at a low rate of interest and the banks of our country, as a whole, show a high percentage of liquid assets.

Most generous laws for the relief of disabled veterans have been enacted. No government ever provided so generously for those disabled by service in time of war.

To preserve American standards for all our inhabitants restrictive immigration laws were passed.

By means of a protective tariff we have saved American agriculture, labor, and industry from the menace of having their great home market destroyed through the dumping upon it of a flood of foreign products.

The Washington Conference produced the one effective agreement among the great powers in all the history of civilization for relieving the people of the earth from the enormous burden of maintaining competitive naval armaments. It demonstrated at last that peace and good will are not vain illusions, but actual realities.

These are some of the larger aspects, though very incompletely depicted, of what this administration has been doing to promote the welfare of the American people.

A survey of the economic condition of our country, the industrial peace which prevails, the mighty influence which our moral power exerts throughout the world all testify that it has not been without success.

### Clean Government

There are those who would disregard all this for an undertaking to convince themselves and others that the chief issue of this campaign is honest government. In all my studies of political history I can not recall an administration which was desirous of a dishonest and corrupt government that, for the purpose of checking extravagance, ever undertook to introduce a budget system, to cut down taxes, to purge the pay rolls, to make enormous reductions in the public debt, and to lay firmer foundations for the peace of the world. That is not the way of dishonesty. The Government is sound. But individuals charged with wrongdoing are being prosecuted. The people of this country hate corruption. They know my position. They know the law will be enforced. The American Government must be clean.

### Principles Supported

Many principles exist which I have tried to represent and propose to support. I believe in the American Constitution. I favor the American system of individual enterprise, and I am opposed to any general extension of Government ownership and control. I believe not only in advocating economy in public expenditure, but in its practical application and actual accomplishment. I believe in a reduction and reform of taxation, and shall continue my efforts in that direction. I am in favor of protection. I favor the Permanent Court and further limitation of armaments. I am opposed to aggressive war. I shall avoid involving ourselves in the political controversies of Europe, but I shall do what I can to encourage American citizens and resources to assist in restoring Europe with the sympathetic support of our Government. I want agriculture and industry on a sound basis of prosperity and equality. I shall continue to strive for the economic, moral, and spiritual welfare of my country.

### Foreign Relations

The domestic affairs of our country appear to me to be by far the chief concern.

The foreign policy of America can best be described by one word—peace. We have been unwilling to surrender our independence. We have refused to ratify the covenant of the League of Nations. Under our Constitution we can not foreclose the right of the President or the Congress to determine future problems when they arise. We must necessarily proceed upon the principle of present cooperation without future entanglements.

As peace means fundamentally a reign of law, we propose to become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

If Europe should agree to the Dawes plan then a private loan should be made by our citizens to Germany for the financial support of this undertaking.

### Limitation of Armaments

When the reparations plan is in operation, I shall deem it an appropriate time to approach the great powers with a proposal for another conference for a further limitation of armaments and for devising plans for a codification of international law.

### *Equal Opportunity*

There should be no favorites and no outcasts; no race or religious prejudices in Government. America opposes special privilege for any body and favors equal opportunity for every body.

### *Tariff*

The Republican Party supports the policy of protection as a broad principle, good alike for producer and consumer, because it knows that no other means to prevent the lowering of the standards of pay and living for the American wage earner toward the misery scale that prevails abroad has ever been devised.

I am for protection because it maintains American standards of living and of business, for agriculture, industry, and labor. I am in favor of the elastic provisions of our tariff law. I propose to administer them, not politically, but judicially.

### *Agriculture*

Due to a change in the world supply, prices of products have begun to improve, even so far as to increase land values. The Government rendered a great deal of assistance and private enterprise cooperated, but the fundamental remedy was provided, as it always must be provided, not so much through the enactment of legislative laws as through the working out of economic laws.

But the main problem is marketing. Cooperative effort, reorganization of the freight-rate structure, good business, and good wages in manufacturing, and the settlement of European affairs will all help to provide better market conditions.

Now that nature and economic law have given some temporary relief, I propose, therefore, to appoint a committee to investigate and report measures to the Congress in December that may help secure this result which we all desire. I want profitable agriculture established permanently. I want to see the dollar of the farmer always purchase as much as any other dollar.

A wise, skilled, and unselfish leadership can do more than anything else to rescue agriculture.

### *Labor*

Those who toil have always profited from Republican control of Government. Under the policy of protection and restrictive immigration no deflation of wages has occurred. The 12-hour day and the 7-day week have practically been abolished. Collective bargaining and voluntary arbitration have been encouraged. Republican rule has raised the wage earner to a higher standard than he ever occupied before anywhere in the world.

### *Tax Reduction*

The expenses of the Government reach everybody. Taxes take from everyone a part of his earnings, and force everyone to work for a certain part of his time for the Government. Until we can reestablish a condition under which the earnings of the people can be kept by the people, we are bound to suffer a very distinct curtailment of our liberty. One of the greatest favors that can be bestowed upon the American people is economy in government. I want further tax reduction and more tax reform. Excessively high rates defeat their own purpose. They dry up that source of revenue and leave those paying lower rates to furnish all the taxes. High rates tend to paralyze business. For these reasons I am opposed to excess-profits taxes and high surtaxes. Good business is worth more to the small income taxpayer than a considerable percentage of tax reduction. Whatever cry the demagogue may make about his ability to tax the rich, at the end of the year it will always be found that the people as a whole have paid the taxes.

### *Campaign Expenses*

Economy should be practiced scrupulously in the conduct of a national campaign. Costs have increased by doubling of the electorate, rendering close calculations impossible.

Nevertheless, I can perceive no reason why the budget system should not be beneficial in a campaign, as it has proved to be in government. It is to be tested by our committee.

### *Women Voters*

For the first time, after having opportunity fully to organize, the women of the Nation are bringing the new force which they represent directly to bear on our political affairs. I welcome it as a great instrument of mercy and a mighty agency of peace. I want every woman to vote.

### *Preserving American Institutions*

We believe in our method of constitutional government and the integrity of the legislative, judicial, and executive departments. The Constitution is the sole source and guaranty of national freedom. We believe that the safest place to declare and interpret the Constitution which the people have made is in the Supreme Court of the United States. We believe the people of the Nation should continue to own the property and transact the business of the Nation. We harbor no delusions about securing perfection. We know that mankind is finite, and will continue to be under any system. But that system is best which gives the individual the largest freedom of action. Under our institutions there is no limitation on the aspirations a mother may have for her children. That system I pray to continue. This country would not be a land of opportunity, America would not be America, if the people were shackled with government monopolies.

### *Justice for All*

As a plain matter of expediency the white man can not be protected unless the black man is protected, and as a plain matter of right law is law and justice is justice for everybody.

### *Law Enforcement*

Our country has adopted prohibition and provided by legislation for its enforcement. It is the duty of the citizen to observe the law, and the duty of the Executive to enforce.

### *Child Labor*

The Congress should have authority to provide a uniform law applicable to the whole Nation which will protect childhood. Their places are not in the factory, but in the school.

### *National Defense*

I am in favor of national defense. I do not want the safety of my country to be imperiled in its domestic or foreign relations by any failure to be ready to preserve order or repel attack.

### *A Government of Common Sense*

We are likely to hear a great deal of discussion about liberal thought and progressive action. It is well for the country to have liberality in thought and progress in action, but its greatest asset is common sense. In the common place things of life lies the strength of the Nation. It is not in brilliant conceptions and strokes of genius that we shall find the chief reliance of our country, but in the home, in the school, and in religion. America will continue to defend these shrines. Every evil force that seeks to desecrate or destroy them will find that a Higher Power has endowed the people with an inherent spirit of resistance. The people know the difference between pretense and reality. They want to be told the truth. They want to be trusted. They want a chance to work out their own material and spiritual salvation. The people want a government of common sense.—Extracts.

## John W. Davis States His Position in Accepting the Democratic Nomination

Direct extracts from Speech of Acceptance delivered by John W. Davis at Clarksburg, W. Va., August 11, 1924.

**M**ANY and grave are the problems of the hour, and all the resources of patriotism and statesmanship at our command will be taxed in their solution. The allied forces of greed and dishonesty, of self-seeking and partisanship, of prejudice and ignorance, threaten today as they have rarely done before the perpetuity of our national ideals, traditions and institutions. For all these things the party now in power can not escape the responsibility that is its due. No repentance at the eleventh hour and no promise of reform can cancel half a line of the indisputable facts.

### *Republican Corruption and Favoritism Charged*

I charge the Republican Party with corruption in office. I charge it also with favoritism in legislation. To pervert high office to personal gain is an offense detested by all honest men; but to use the power of legislation purposely to enrich one man or set of men at the expense of others is robbery on a larger scale though done under the forms of law. In the passage of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, imposing the highest rates and duties in the tariff history of the nation, there was an unblushing return to the evil days of rewarding party support and political contributions with legislative favors.

Is there not something of humor as well as honesty lacking in those who in one and the same breath can promise a reduction of the cost of living and praise a statute which raises the price of the elemental necessities of life; who can demand, as they should, the payment of our foreign debts but refuse to accept from the debtor the goods in which alone payment can be made; who clamor for an American merchant marine but deny it the cargoes necessary for its existence?

I charge the Republican Party with corruption in administration; with favoritism to privileged classes in legislation. I charge it also with division in council and impotence in action. No political party has the right to hold the reins of Government unless it can exhibit the cardinal virtues of honesty, sincerity and unity. Of these the last is by no means the least important. No matter how lofty the ideals or how pure the purposes of any party, the country is not served unless it possesses both the will and the power to carry these ideals and purposes into effect. When it becomes a leaderless and incoherent mob it must give way to some rival better fitted for the task of government.

### *Lack of Republican Foreign Policy*

Four years ago the Republican Party, in snarling criticism of the great leader then in office, promised to "end executive autocracy." It has fallen into the pit that it dug, for its efforts in that direction have succeeded beyond its wildest dreams. An Executive who can not or will not lead, a Congress that can not and will not follow—how can good government exist under such conditions?

Nor is it in domestic matters alone that the symptoms of this creeping paralysis have appeared. The Executive recommendations for adherence to the World Court, sanctioned as they are by long American tradition and example, have been flouted and ignored. With the reconstruction of Europe weighing heavily on the world; with American economic life dwarfed and stunted by the interruption of world commerce; with the agricultural regions of the West sinking into bankruptcy because of the loss of their foreign markets; we have stood by as powerless spectators, offering to the world nothing but private charity and individual advice. We must face the humiliating fact that we have a government that does not dare to speak its mind beyond the three-mile limit.

### *Indictment of Republican Party*

I indict the Republican Party in its organized capacity for having shaken public confidence to its very foundations. I charge it with having exhibited deeper and more widespread corruption than any that this generation of Americans has been called upon to witness. I charge it with complacency in the face of that corruption and with ill will toward the efforts of honest men to expose it. I charge it with indifference to world peace and with timidity in the conduct of our foreign affairs. I charge it with disorganization, division and incoherence, and on the record I shall ask the voters to pass judgment of condemnation, as a warning to all men who may aspire to public office, that dishonesty either in thought, word or deed, will not be tolerated in America.

### *The Democratic Program*

We are prepared to offer a Democratic program based on Democratic principles and guaranteed by a record of Democratic performance. This program we have outlined in our platform; these principles are those by which the Democratic Party has been guided throughout the years—and which like the creed of the church should be repeated whenever Democrats assemble—a belief in equal rights to all men and special privilege to none; in an ever wider and more equitable distribution of the rewards of toil and industry; in the suppression of private monopoly as a thing indefensible and intolerable; in the largest liberty for every individual; in local self-government as against a centralized bureaucracy; in public office as a public trust; in a government administered without fear abroad or favoritism at home. And our pledge will be the long roll of beneficent legislation passed during our years of power, and the conduct without scandal or corruption of a great and victorious war fought under the gallant and inspiring leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

We shall strive for the things that look to these great ends; for the education of our youth; for the protection of women and children from human greed and unequal laws; for the prevention of child labor and for the suppression of the illicit traffic in soul-destroying drugs. We shall conserve all the natural resources of the country and prevent the hand of monopoly from closing on them and on our water powers, so that our children after us shall find this still a fair land to dwell within. And to the veterans of our wars, especially to those who were stricken and wounded in the country's service and whose confidence has been so cruelly and corruptly abused, we shall give the grateful care they have so justly earned.

### Labor

The right of labor to an adequate wage earned under healthful conditions, the right to organize in order to obtain it and the right to bargain for it collectively, through agents and representatives of its own choosing, must not be impaired either by injunction or by any other device. The Democratic Party's attitude has been well described as one inspired neither by deference on the one hand nor by patronage on the other, but by a sincere desire to make labor part of the grand council of the nation, to concede its patriotism and to recognize that its knowledge of its own needs gives it a right to a voice in all matters of government that directly or peculiarly affect its own rights.

### Agriculture

To the farmers of the United States also we promise not patronage but such laws and such administration of the laws as will enable them to prosper in their own right. Buying in a protected market and selling in a market open to the world, they have been forced to contribute to the profits of those in other industries with no compensating benefit to themselves. We propose to see to it that the discriminations which the tariff makes against him shall be removed; that his Government by doing its share toward a European settlement shall help to revive and enlarge his foreign markets; that instead of lip service to the principle of co-operative marketing the forces of the Government shall be put actively at work to lend assistance to these endeavors. He is entitled, too, to demand an adequate service of transportation at reasonable rates.

### Taxation

We promise to the people of America not only revision and reform but a further reduction in the taxes that weigh them down and sap the vigor of their productive energy. The exorbitant rates and discriminatory provisions of the present tariff law must be wiped out, and in their place must be written, with fairness to all and favors to none, a statute designed primarily to raise revenue for the support of the government and framed on a truly competitive basis.

We purpose no action that would tear down or destroy. But we are resolved that the laying and collecting of taxes shall remain a public and not a private business and that monopoly shall find no section of the law behind which to hide itself. The rates of the income tax should be further lowered. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation no matter on whom the burden falls. I am ready to agree that there is no right in government to tax any man beyond its needs solely because he is rich; and yet I stoutly hold that every dictate of reason and morality supports the rule that those who derive from the common effort of society a greater share of its earnings than their fellows must contribute to the support of the State a proportionately larger share of that which they have received. Nor will we overlook the sound distinction which exists in principle between those incomes gathered without effort from invested capital, and those which are the product of exertion day by day.

### Economy in Government

And with reduction there must be economy in every part of the governmental establishment. Economy, however, begins at the wrong end when it attacks the pay of government employees, who are justly entitled to pay equal to that they would receive from private employers for similar work.

### Law Enforcement

To the enforcement of the law, and all the law, we stand definitely pledged. Obedience to the law is the first

duty of every good citizen, whether he be rich or whether he be poor; enforcement of the law against every violator, rich or poor, is the solemn obligation of every official.

### Disarmament

But all that we do will be undone; all that we build will be torn down; all that we hope for will be denied, unless in conjunction with the rest of mankind we can lift the burden of vast armaments which now weighs upon the world and silence the recurring threat of war.

### World Court

We favor the World Court in sincerity and not merely for campaign purposes or as an avenue of escape from the consideration of larger questions.

### League of Nations

We do not and we cannot accept the dictum unauthorized by any expression of popular will that the League of Nations is a closed incident so far as we are concerned. We deny the right of any man to thus shut the gates of the future against us and to write the fatal word "Never" across the face of our foreign policy. The League has within it the seed of sure survival and is destined more and more to become the bulwark of peace and order to mankind. Fifty-four nations now sit around its council table. None of the nations in all this lengthening list have parted with their sovereignty or sacrificed their independence, or have imperilled by their presence their safety at home or their security abroad. I cannot reconcile their experience with the fears of those who dread a different fate for the United States.

### National Defense

I deem it the duty of the Chief Executive and the duty of Congress, burdensome as it may be, to maintain the means of adequate national defense until reason is permitted to take the place of force; we cannot throw away the sword when other scabbards are not empty.

### Religious Freedom

We reaffirm our belief in the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, and to deplore and condemn any effort from whatever source to arouse racial or religious dissension in this country. Let it be said to the immortal glory of those who founded the Province of Maryland that religious freedom on this side of the water began with the Toleration Act which they adopted in 1649. It broadened with the years until it was written into the Constitution that every man might, without lessening his civic, social or political rights, worship in his own way and fashion the one God and Father of us all. It was written, too, that church and state should be forever so far separate that neither the right nor the duty of public service should be diminished or enlarged by the religious belief of any man. It is the solemn duty of every believer in American institutions to oppose any challenge of this sacred doctrine, organized or unorganized, under whatever name or in whatever character it may appear. I wish, therefore, to denounce bigotry, intolerance and race prejudice as alien to the spirit of America.

### Conclusion

The nomination which you tender me was not made of my seeking. It comes, I am proud to believe, as the unanimous wish of one of the most deliberate conventions in American history. It is not for me to reject so clear a call to duty. I am happy, however, in the thought that it finds me free from pledge or promise to any living man. Neither the Democratic Party nor I as its leader have any favors for sale. We can make but one promise to all men alike, that of an honest, an impartial and, so far as human wisdom will permit, a just government.—*Extrads.*

## The Election of a New Congress

All the members of the U. S. House of Representatives are elected every two years. In the U. S. Senate where the terms of the members are for six years, only a third of the members are elected every two years. The Congressional election is held on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November, and will be held this year simultaneously with the Presidential election on November 7th.—Exception: The members from the State of Maine, under a state law, are elected in September.

### Provisions of the Constitution Governing the Election of the Congress

THE provisions of the Constitution which set forth the qualifications for membership in Congress, manner of election, etc., are as follows:

*Article 1. Section 2.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons.]\* The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

The last apportionment, under the act of 1911, was made on the basis of one Representative for 211,877 of population, and one for each major fraction thereof.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

*Section 3.* [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.]\*†

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the Second Year, of the second Class at the expira-

tion of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments [until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies].†

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided. \* \* \*

*Section 4.* The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators. \* \* \*

*Section 5.* Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns, and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide. \* \* \*

*Section 6.* The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

### Amendment XIV\*

#### Amending Article 1—Section 2

*Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are

\*The part included in brackets is amended by Section 2 of Amendment XIV. See below.

†The parts included in brackets are amended by Amendment XVII. See next page.

\*The fourteenth amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the several States, there being then thirty-seven States, by a resolution of Congress passed on the 16th of June, 1866, at the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, and was ratified by the requisite number of State legislatures, according to a proclamation of the Secretary of State dated July 28, 1868.

citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

**Section 2.** Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

**Section 3.** No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or

given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

**Section 5.** The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

### Amendment XVII†

#### Amending Article 1. Section 3

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

† The seventeenth amendment was submitted to the legislatures of the several States (there being then forty-eight States) by a resolution of Congress passed on 16th day of May, 1912, at the second session of the Sixty-second Congress, and was ratified, by the requisite number of State legislatures, according to a proclamation of the Secretary of State dated May 31, 1913.

### U. S. Senators Whose Terms of Service Expire March 3, 1925, Dates of Primaries and Status of Senators as a Result of Primary Contests Held To Date (August 19, 1924).

Republicans in Roman type, Democrats in italics, and Farmer-Labor in SMALL CAPITALS.

STATE	SENATORS	STATUS	DATE OF '24 PRIMARIES*
Alabama	<i>J. Thomas Heflin</i> *	Renominated	May 13.
Arkansas	<i>Joseph T. Robinson</i>	Renominated	Aug. 12.
Colo. xx	<i>Lawrence C. Phipps</i>		Sept. 9.
	<i>Alva B. Adams</i> †		
Delaware	<i>L. Heisler Ball</i>		Aug. 26. §§
Georgia	<i>William J. Harris</i>		Sept. 10. §§
Idaho	<i>William E. Borah</i>		Aug. 26. §§
Illinois	<i>Medill McCormick</i>	Defeated	April 8.
Iowa	<i>Smith W. Brookhart</i> †	Renominated	June 2.
Kansas	<i>Arthur Capper</i>	Renominated	Aug. 5.
Kentucky	<i>A. Owsley Stanley</i>	Renominated	Aug. 2.
Louisiana	<i>Joseph E. Ransdell</i>		Sept. 9.
Maine	<i>Bert M. Fernald</i>	Renominated	June 16.
Mass.	<i>David I. Walsh</i>		Sept. 9.
Michigan	<i>James Couzens</i> †		Sept. 9.
Minn.	<i>Maxwell Johnson</i> §	Renominated	June 16.
Miss.	<i>Pat Harrison</i>	Renominated	Aug. 19.
Montana	<i>Thomas J. Walsh</i>		Aug. 26.
Nebraska	<i>George W. Norris</i>	Renominated	April 8.
N. H.	<i>Henry W. Keyes</i>		Sept. 2.
N. Jersey	<i>Walter E. Edge</i>		Sept. 23.
N. Mex.	<i>Holm O. Barsum</i> †		Date §§
N. Car.	<i>Furnifold M. Simmons</i>	Renominated	June 7.
Oklahoma	<i>Robert L. Owen</i>	[Retired]x	Aug. 5.
Oregon	<i>Charles L. McNary</i>	Renominated	May 16.
R. I.	<i>LeBaron B. Colt</i>	[Deceased]	Date
So. Car.	<i>Nathaniel B. Dial</i>		Aug. 26. §§
So. Dak.	<i>Thomas Sterling</i>	Defeated**	Mar. 25.
Tennessee	<i>John K. Shields</i>	Defeated††	Aug. 5.
Texas	<i>Morris Sheppard</i>	Renominated	July 26. z
Virginia	<i>Carter Glass</i> §	Renominated	Aug. 5.
W. Va.	<i>Davis Elkins</i>	[Retired]‡‡	May 27.
Wyoming	<i>Francis E. Warren</i>	Renominated	Aug. 19.

### Dates of 1924 Primaries or Conventions not Listed Above

STATE	PRIMARY	STATE	PRIMARY
Arizona	Sept. 16	New York	Sept. 18
California	Aug. 26	N. Dakota	June 18
Connecticut	Sept. 9, 10	Ohio	Aug. 7
Florida	June 3	Pennsylvania	April 22
Indiana	May 6	Utah	Aug. 27
Maryland	Sept. 8	Vermont	Sept. 9
Missouri	Aug. 5	Washington	Sept. 11
Nevada	Sept. 2	Wisconsin	Sept. 2

\* Elected Nov. 2, 1920.

† Appointed by Governor.

‡ Elected Nov. 7, 1922.

§ Elected July 17, 1923.

¶ Elected Sept. 20, 1921.

|| Charles S. Deneen chosen Republican nominee at Primary.

\*\* Gov. W. H. McMaster chosen Republican nominee at Primary.

†† L. D. Tyson chosen Democratic nominee at Primary.

‡‡ Guy D. Goff chosen Republican nominee at Primary.

§§ Date fixed by State law unless otherwise noted.

||| Dates are set by governing bodies of political parties holding conventions (N. Mex., (date not yet announced), and Conn., Del., Idaho, Utah), or Primaries (Ga., So. Car.).

|||| In Rhode Island Party Caucuses are held on different days. Dates not yet announced.

x Ex. Gov. J. C. Walton chosen Democratic nominee at Primary.

z Second Primary if necessary Aug. 23.

xx Two Senators to be elected in Colorado.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Status of members of U. S. House of Representatives, as result of Primary contests held to date, is not available at this time. The entire membership of the House, numbering 435, must be re-elected this fall to succeed to the next Congress.

## A Glossary of Political Terms

From "A Dictionary of American Politics" by Edward Conrad Smith

### Voter

**Electorate**—The collective body of citizens who are legally qualified to vote.

**Qualifications of Voters**—The control of the suffrage for all officers is vested in the states, subject to the limitations contained in the thirteenth and nineteenth amendments. Since the suffrage is not a right of all citizens, the states may fix such qualifications as they deem best.

**Registration**—The listing of all voters at some definite period prior to an election. The poll books are made up either by canvassers or by boards which sit at the polling places. The registrars have full discretion as to whether or not they will grant the application of an individual to be included in their lists; but the laws make provision for an appeal to a higher administrative authority. Where the registration laws have been rigidly enforced, they have gone far toward eliminating personation, repeating and other frauds, and insuring the purity of elections.

**Absent Voting**—More than one-half of the states make provision by which individual voters who are obliged to be away from home on election day may mail their ballots. Twenty years ago such persons were practically disfranchised.

**Voting Machines**—Automatic devices for registering the vote cast at an election. The face of the machine bears the names of candidates with or without party designations, much like the printed ballot; but in place of the party squares there are levers which the voter may pull. The machines are so adjusted that they refuse to record a vote for two candidates for the same office, and thus they eliminate spoiled ballots. While the voter is using the machine, he is screened from public observation as he is under the usual system while marking his ballot in the booth; and upon leaving the machine the pointers which he has pressed spring into place again, thus insuring secret voting. Each vote is registered as it is cast and the result may be ascertained at the close of the election by simply unlocking the counter compartment. Voting machines have been authorized in eleven states and by law of Congress. The chief objections to the use of the machines are the heavy initial expense, the delicate mechanism which is likely to get out of order, and the fact that the ordinary voter is unfamiliar with their operation. On the other hand they will economize in the expense for printing, ballot boxes, and the salaries of election officials, and they put an end to expensive recounts.

**Preferential Voting**—A system of voting which allows each voter the right to express not merely his first choice, but his second and third choices among the candidates. The system is used chiefly in municipal elections. It has been adopted in more than fifty American cities. The object of preferential voting is to secure the election of persons desired by a majority, and not merely a plurality of the people. By the system in use, any candidate who has a majority of first choices is declared elected. If no one has a majority, either the lowest candidates are eliminated and their second choices are applied to the leading candidates until one has a majority, or the second and third choices of all candidates are added *seriatim* until one candidate has a majority.

**Pivotal State**—A state, having a large number of electoral votes, in which the popular strength of the parties is so nearly equal that the vote may decide the result of the election in the whole country. Since the Civil War, New York has been regarded as the great pivotal state, with Ohio and Indiana of only slightly less importance because of their smaller number of electors.

### Nominations

**Nominations, Methods of Making**—In the beginning of American history candidates were nominated by self-announcement, by a legislative caucus, or by the recommendation of a small group who formed the inner circle of state or local government. In some parts of the South and West at the present time self-announcement is still in use to a limited extent. Later methods were: (2) By caucus or primary (confined to local sub-divisions, districts, towns, wards, etc.); (3) By conventions (prevailing method of 1840-1900); (4) Direct primary (since 1900); (5) Petition (practically confined to cities and other sub-divisions; in use since the introduction of the Australian ballot).

### Primaries

**Primary Election**—The means of nominating candidates by a direct popular vote rather than by the indirect means of conventions. A *closed* primary election is one which is limited to the members of a political party. An *open* primary election is one in which voters may participate without undergoing any tests of party allegiance. A *non-partisan* primary election is one in which the names on the ballot are printed without any party designations. The first primary election

laws were passed in California and in New York in 1866. They were optional in their nature, that is, political parties were free to make use of them or not, as they saw fit. The system has gradually spread until it is used in practically every state in the Union, the primary elections being now generally held under the regulations of the state rather than under party rules. The provisions generally enforced require that the elections shall occur on the same day and place for all parties, that secret ballots shall be used, that the nominations shall be made by plurality vote, that the regular election officials shall be in charge, and that the same provision against corrupt practices shall be applied in the primary as in the general election.

### Ballot

**Ballot**—Any printed or written voting paper. Several of the earliest state constitutions required voting by ballot, though in the South viva-voce voting continued for many years. The first ballots were not secret. Theoretically prepared by voters, they were actually printed and distributed by party organizations. Sometimes they were of odd sizes and colors so as to make it possible for watchers to determine how each man voted. Between 1888 and 1900 practically every state adopted some form of the *Australian ballot*. (A name generally given to any secret ballot prepared at public expense and distributed to the voters at the polls.) In about one-third of the states the names of candidates are grouped under offices in alphabetical order or in the party order. They may or may not have party designations following the names. In another third of the states, the names of all candidates are arranged in a party column to make identification less difficult; and in the other third of the states, a party emblem—a rooster for the Democrats, an eagle for the Republicans, etc.—is printed at the top of the column. Nearly all authorities are agreed that the present ballot is too unwieldy and that improvement should be sought in the *Short Ballot*.

**Short Ballot Movement**—The agitation for the reform of the present "long" ballot by reducing the number of elective officers. The aim is to secure more intelligent voting. Past experience has shown that it is absolutely impossible for the voters to express an intelligent opinion on a great number of candidates for federal, state, county and municipal offices. The short ballot reformers propose that all State officers below the Governor and most of the local officers having technical, clerical and other purely administrative duties, should be appointed. They argue that the really important officers, who would be elected under the short ballot system, will stand out in greater relief than they do at present, hence they will be held to greater responsibility by the people, and they can thus be trusted to appoint the minor officers.

**Split Ticket**—A ballot marked for candidates of more than one political party.

### National Conventions

**Presidential Primary**—The election laws of several states require that the delegates to national conventions shall be chosen in primary elections by popular vote. Many ballots under this system contain the names of the presidential candidates in order that the voters may express their preferences among them.

**Alternates**—Persons chosen to attend the conventions of political parties and to act in place of the regular delegates if they are absent. They have otherwise no official part in the proceedings; but they are seated directly behind the delegates, and by their demonstrations they may influence the course of the proceedings. Since they are usually leading politicians they may also influence the course of the regular delegates in discussions in the intervals between the sessions.

**Keynote Speech**—The address made by the temporary chairman of a national convention. In it he reviews the triumphs of the party in the past and indicates the chief measures upon which the party will conduct the election campaign. In other words, he "strikes the keynote" for the assembly.

**Two-thirds Rule**—In Democratic national conventions, the vote of two-thirds of the delegates is required to make a nomination. In Republican conventions, a bare majority is sufficient.

**Unit Rule**—In the national conventions of the Democratic party, the votes of all the delegates from a state are cast in a block for a candidate. The rule arose from the former plan of instructing delegates by the state conventions; but when there were no instructions, the caucus of delegates from a state, by majority vote, could determine how the whole delegation should vote. Since 1912 the rule has been modified to permit delegates, required by state laws to be elected by congressional districts, to vote individually. Republican conventions have no unit rule.

**Dark Horse**—A man who is unexpectedly nominated for an important office, after it has been found impossible to choose one of the leading candidates. Usually "dark horses" are not widely known throughout the country.

**Favorite Son**—A candidate for a Presidential nomination who has the support of the delegates from his State on the first ballot. Usually the vote is given to him as a compliment to his political leadership, or as a means of defeating some candidate with greater national strength. After the first two or three ballots, the delegates in most cases desert the favorite son and vote for other candidates.

**Platform**—A separate principle for which a party stands; one of the paragraphs of the platform.

**Campaign Textbook**—A volume issued by each party during a presidential campaign. It contains the platforms of the parties, discussions of the principal issues involved in the election, and arguments in favor of the policies advocated by the party. It is for the use of speakers and the editors of party newspapers rather than for distribution to the general public.

### Campaign

**Congressional Campaign Committee**—The committee which has general supervision over the campaigns for the election of members of Congress. The committee originated in 1866 when the Republicans in Congress, being engaged in a sharp conflict with the President, feared to trust their chances with the regular national committee. The Republican Congressional Committee is chosen by a joint caucus of members of both houses. It consists of one member from each state which has a Republican Congressman. The Democratic Committee consists of nine Senators chosen by the senatorial caucus, one Representative from each state which has sent a member to the House and a prominent politician chosen from each state which has no Democratic Representative. During the "presidential years" the Congressional Campaign Committee cooperates closely with the national committee, and in the "off years" it issues its own "textbook" and has general supervision over the campaign.

**Contested Elections**—The courts of every State decide as to the validity of the votes cast, and the two Houses of Congress see that the vote is authenticated in accordance with the laws. Each house of Congress is the sole judge of election returns and qualifications of its own members, and any contest as to a seat in either house is decided by that house. The testimony is taken by the appropriate committee, and after its report the house decides between the contestants.

**Campaign Funds**—In the campaign of 1920 it was shown by the report of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections that a total amount in excess of \$13,000,000 was expended in national and state elections. Besides this amount there must have been large sums spent by district, county, city, and other local committees. The purpose of campaign expenditures are many and varied. The national headquarters maintained at New York and Chicago cost approximately \$5,000 a day; and other headquarters permanently maintained in the principal cities involve an immense expense. The hire of halls and the expenses for music and decorations cost sometimes \$10,000 per night. The employment of campaign speakers costs sometimes

\$100 a night, and the printing of a single speech may involve an expense of \$10,000. The cartoons, plate, and printed matter which are distributed to newspapers are very costly, as are lithographs and billboard advertisements. Special trains and automobiles must be provided for the principal speakers. In the local subdivisions the maintenance of clubs; giving of entertainments; the salaries of canvassers, etc., involve an enormous expenditure. Besides these legitimate expenses some of the fund may be used for the bribery or treating of voters in both cities and rural districts. The sources of the fund are from voluntary subscriptions, assessments levied upon state and municipal office holders, and contributions of candidates. Formerly corporations were large contributors, sometimes to the campaign funds of both parties; but their contributions are now illegal. Both of the great parties have within recent years made an effort to secure as many small subscriptions as possible, Roosevelt starting a \$1-campaign-subscriptions list in 1904, and the Democratic party following the example in 1908. The increased knowledge of the general public as to the sources and magnitude of campaign funds has produced a demand for legislation prohibiting corrupt practices, restricting the sources of campaign funds, defining legitimate expenditures, and requiring publicity of contributions or expenditures or both.

**Corrupt Practices Acts**—Laws defining and fixing penalties in order to secure purity in elections. Most of the states have laws forbidding the purchase of votes, treating, betting, the payment of naturalization fees or taxes by other persons, and the solicitation from candidates of contributions for charitable, religious, or other purposes. In some states the publication of political advertisements is regulated. In order to eliminate as far as possible the undue influence of persons financially interested in the results of an election the laws require the detailed publication of the sources of campaign funds, and prohibit contributions from corporations and from office holders. Often the expenditures of candidates are limited to a fixed sum or to a certain proportion of the total salary; and detailed reports of all expenditures are required to be filed after the primary, at some definite date prior to the election, or after the election.

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### Federal Laws Relative to Contributions and Campaign Expenditures

*An act providing for publicity of contributions made for the purpose of influencing elections at which Representatives in Congress are elected. Act of June 25, 1910. (36 Stat. 822.)*

*An Act to amend an act entitled "An act providing for publicity (etc.) of June 25, 1910," and extending the same to candidates for nomination and election to the offices of Representative and Senator in the Congress of the United States and limiting the amount of campaign expenses. Act of August 19, 1911. (37 Stat. 25.)*

*An act amending paragraph 10 of section 8 of an act entitled "An act providing for publicity (etc.) of June 25, 1910," as amended by section 2 of Act of Aug. 19, 1911. Act of Aug. 23, 1912. (37 Stat. 360.)*

*S. Res. 248 to elect a special committee to investigate and report on December 5, 1924, campaign expenditures in favor of or opposition to candidates for presidential and vice-presidential electors, agreed to June 7, 1924.*

## Recent Government Publications of General Interest

The following publications issued by various departments of the Government may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

### Agriculture

**CABBAGE-SEED TREATMENT**; by J. C. Walker. (Department of Agriculture Circular No. 311.) Price, 5 cents.

Seed treatment good insurance, dangerous diseases which are seed borne, seed-bed sanitation.

**A CORN-BELT FARMING SYSTEM WHICH SAVES HARVEST LABOR BY HOGGING DOWN CROPS**; by J. A. Drake. (Farmers Bulletin No. 614, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

Cropping system, system of live-stock management, rye crop, money income per acre, corn crop, labor problem, etc.

**DELINTING AND RECLEANING COTTONSEED FOR PLANTING PURPOSES**; by J. E. Barr. (Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1219.) Price, 10 cents.

Rate of delinting, loss of good seeds in recleaning, and agricultural possibilities of delinted and recleaned seed, with conclusions.

**HOW TO GROW ALFALFA**; by R. A. Oakley and H. L. Westover. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 1283, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

History, acreage, varieties, climatic and soil relations, seed production, weeds, diseases, and insects, etc.

**LOSSES FROM SELLING COTTON IN THE SEED**; by Charles F. Creswell. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 775, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

Disadvantages of selling cotton in the seed, prices of ginned and unginned cotton.

**SEED STATISTICS, Year Ending May 31, 1923, with Comparable Data for Earlier Years**. (Department of Agriculture, Statistical Bulletin No. 2.) Price, 15 cents.

Field seeds, production, receipts, stocks and shipments, prices, exports, imports, etc.

**STUDIES IN THE PHYSIOLOGY AND CONTROL OF BUNT OR STINKING SMUT, OF WHEAT**; by Horace M. Woolman, and others. (Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1239.) Price, 10 cents.

Physiologic factors affecting development of bunt, control of bunt, etc.

## Agriculture—continued

SUMMARY OF LITERATURE ON BUNT, OR STINKING SMUT, OF WHEAT; by Horace M. Woolman, and others. (Department Bulletin No. 1210.) Price, 10 cents.

Historical retrospect, physiologic factors affecting development of bunt, control of bunt.

## Birds

FOOD OF SOME WELL-KNOWN BIRDS OF FOREST, FARM AND GARDEN; by F. E. L. Beal, and others. (Farmers Bulletin No. 506, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

Various kinds of birds of farm, forest and garden.

## Census

FARM TENANCY IN UNITED STATES, an Analysis of 1920 Census Relative to Farms Classified by Tenure Supplemented by Pertinent Data from Other Sources; by E. A. Goldenweiser and Leon E. Truesdell. (Census monograph No. 4.) Price, \$1.25.

## Directories

ARMY LIST AND DIRECTORY, May 1, 1924. Price, 25 cents.

Abbreviations, Army and Corps areas and departments, stations and post office addresses of organizations, general hospitals, military posts, promotion list, alphabetical list of officers of the Army, with their addresses and assignments, changes among commissioned officers from February 20, 1924, to April 20, 1924.

LIST OF WORKERS IN SUBJECTS PERTAINING TO AGRICULTURE, part 2, State Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, 1923-1924. (Agricultural Miscellaneous Circular No. 17.) Price, 10 cents.

Officers of association of land-grant colleges, state agricultural colleges and experiment stations, with index of names.

NAVY DIRECTORY, May 1, 1924. Price, 25 cents.

Officers of Navy and Marine Corps, also officers of U. S. Naval reserve force (active), Marine Corps reserve (active), and foreign officers serving with Navy.

REGISTER OF DEPARTMENT OF STATE, JANUARY 1, 1924. Price, 60 cents. Secretaries of State, Counsellors of Department of State, consular service of United States, etc.

## Dyestuffs Industry

THE GERMAN DYESTUFFS INDUSTRY; by Thos. W. Delahanty. (Department of Commerce, Miscellaneous Series No. 126.) Price, 10 cents. Effects of Ruhr occupation on production, bibliography, etc.

## Farm Buildings

PRINCIPLES OF DAIRY-BARN VENTILATION; by M. A. R. Kelley. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 1393.) Price, 5 cents.

Purpose of a ventilation system, animal source of heat, construction and operation.

## Farm Implements

CARE AND REPAIR OF PLOWS AND HARROWS; by E. B. McCormick. (Farmers' Bulletin No. 946, reprint.) Price, 75 cents.

Hand plows, sulky and gang plows, disc plows, spike-tooth harrows, spring-tooth harrows, and disc harrows.

## Farm Loan Act

FEDERAL FARM LOAN ACT AMENDMENTS, Rules and Regulations. Price, 10 cents.

## Geological Surveys

THE COMPOSITION OF THE EARTH'S CRUST; by Frank W. Clark and Henry S. Washington. (Geological Survey Professional Paper No. 127.) Price, 20 cents.

Composition of igneous rocks, relative abundance of the elements in the earth's crust, correlation of the elements with index and tables.

GEOLOGY OF COASTAL PLAIN OF TEXAS WEST OF BRAZOS RIVER; by Alexander Deussen. (Professional Paper 126.) Price, 40 cents.

GEOLOGIC LITERATURE ON NORTH AMERICA, 1785-1918; Part II, Index; by John M. Nickles. (Geological Survey Bulletin No. 747.) Price, 65 cents.

THE RUBY-KUKUKWIM REGION, ALASKA; by J. B. Mertie, Jr., and G. L. Harrington. (Geological Survey Bulletin No. 754.) Price, 50 cents.

## Highway Construction

TENTATIVE STANDARD METHODS OF SAMPLING AND TESTING HIGHWAY MATERIALS. (Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1216.) Price, 15 cents.

Methods of sampling and testing nonbituminous highway materials, bituminous materials, drain tile and culvert pipe, and metallic materials.

Continued page 359

## 1—Total Popular Vote Polled in 1916\* and 1920 Elections by All Presidential Candidates

Year	Candidates for President	State	Political Party	Popular Vote
1916	Woodrow Wilson,	N. Jersey.	Dem.	9,129,606
	Charles E. Hughes	N. York	Rep.	8,538,221
	Allan J. Benson	N. York	Soc.	585,113
	J. Frank Hanly	Indiana	Pro.	220,206
	Arthur E. Reimer	Mass.	Soc.-Lab.	14,180
1920	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	Rep.	16,152,200
	James M. Cox	Ohio	Dem.	9,147,353
	Eugene V. Debs	Indiana	Soc.	917,799
	P. P. Christensen	Utah	Far.-Lab.	265,411
	A. S. Watkins	.....	Pro.	189,408
	W. W. Cox	Missouri	Soc.	31,175

## 2—Electoral and Popular Vote Polled in 1916\* and 1920 Elections by Republican and Democratic Candidates: Listed by States

STATE	1916			1920		
	ELEC-TORAL VOTE	POPULAR VOTE	ELEC-TORAL VOTE	POPULAR VOTE	ELEC-TORAL VOTE	POPULAR VOTE
Alabama	Rep. 12	28,662	Dem. 99,546	Rep. 12	74,690	163,254
Arizona	.. 3	20,524	33,170	.. 3	37,016	29,546
Arkansas	.. 9	47,135	112,282	.. 9	71,117	107,408
Calif.	.. 13	462,516	466,289	13	624,992	229,191
Colorado	.. 6	102,308	178,816	6	173,248	104,936
Connecticut	7	106,514	99,786	7	229,238	120,721
Delaware	3	26,011	24,753	3	53,858	39,911
Florida	.. 6	14,594	55,948	.. 6	44,853	90,515
Georgia	.. 14	11,294	127,763	.. 14	43,720	107,162
Idaho	4	55,368	70,054	4	88,975	46,579
Illinois	29	1,152,549	950,229	29	1,420,480	534,395
Indiana	15	341,005	334,063	15	696,370	511,364
Iowa	13	280,439	221,699	13	634,674	227,921
Kansas	10	277,658	314,588	10	369,268	185,464
Kentucky	13	241,854	269,990	13	452,480	456,497
Louisiana	10	6,466	79,875	10	38,538	87,519
Maine	6	69,506	64,118	6	136,355	58,961
Maryland	8	117,347	138,359	8	236,117	180,626
Massachu'tts	18	268,784	247,885	18	681,153	276,691
Michigan	15	337,252	283,993	15	762,865	233,450
Minnesota	12	179,544	179,152	12	519,421	142,994
Mississippi	10	4,253	80,422	10	11,576	69,277
Missouri	18	369,339	398,032	18	727,162	574,799
Montana	4	66,750	101,063	4	109,430	57,372
Nebraska	8	117,771	158,827	8	247,498	119,608
Nevada	3	12,131	17,778	3	15,479	9,851
N. Hamp.	4	43,724	43,787	4	95,196	62,662
N. Jersey	14	268,982	211,018	14	611,679	258,229
N. Mexico	3	31,152	33,527	3	57,634	46,668
New York	45	869,066	759,426	45	1,871,167	781,238
N. Carolina	12	120,890	168,383	12	232,848	305,447
N. Dakota	5	53,471	55,206	5	160,072	37,422
Ohio	24	514,858	604,361	24	1,182,022	780,837
Oklahoma	10	98,299	148,115	10	243,464	215,808
Oregon	5	126,813	120,087	5	143,592	80,019
Penna.	38	703,734	521,784	38	1,218,215	503,202
R. Island	5	44,858	40,394	5	107,463	55,062
S. Carolina	9	1,558	61,837	9	2,244	64,170
S. Dakota	5	62,217	59,191	5	110,692	35,938
Tennessee	12	116,223	153,282	12	219,829	206,558
Texas	20	64,999	285,514	20	114,538	228,767
Utah	4	54,137	84,145	4	81,555	56,339
Vermont	4	40,250	22,708	4	68,212	20,919
Virginia	12	49,358	102,824	12	87,456	141,670
Wash'ton	7	167,208	183,388	7	223,137	84,298
W. Virginia	7	143,124	140,403	8	282,007	220,789
Wisconsin	13	221,322	193,042	13	498,576	113,422
Wyoming	3	21,698	28,316	3	35,091	17,429
Total	254	277,932,617	9,129,218	404	127,161,427	9,083,205

\*The increase in the popular vote in 1920 over 1916 was due to the passage of the Woman's Suffrage Amendment.

†Discrepancy in totals due to uncertain state returns in 1916. Table 1 gives final official figures.

## The Election—continued from page 335

Congress to fill any vacancy caused by "removal, death, resignation or other inability," the implication is reasonable that it intended to confer a like power upon Congress to fill such a vacancy where there was no existing President or Vice President, by reason of the expiration of

their terms of office and the failure of the usual Constitutional methods to elect successors.—*Extracts from article in the Washington Herald by Judge Beck, U. S. Solicitor General.*

## The Inauguration

THE qualifications for President are stated in the Constitution. He must be a natural-born citizen, at least thirty-five years old, and must have been fourteen years a resident within the United States. The same qualifications apply to the Vice-President. The term is fixed at four years, and so far as the Constitution is concerned, the President or Vice-President may be reelected indefinitely.

To these constitutional requirements, a third has been added by political practice, known as the third-term doctrine. The example set by Washington in declining reelection at the expiration of eight years' service early received such high sanction that it has become a political dogma almost as inviolable as an express provision of the Constitution.

It was formerly the practice for Congress, after having made the official count, to select a committee for the purpose of notifying the new President of his election, but this was not uniformly followed, and has now been abandoned altogether. The President-elect usually arrives in Washington a few days before the fourth of March, and calls upon the retiring President, to pay his respects. On the day of inauguration, the President-elect, in charge of a committee on ceremonies, is conducted to the White

House, whence, accompanied by the President, he is driven to the Capitol. Unless the weather prevents, the oath of office, administered by the Chief Justice of the United States, is taken in the open air upon the platform built for the special purpose at the east front of the Capitol. Following the example set by Washington, it is the practice of the President to deliver an inaugural address setting forth his policy. After the administration of the oath of office, the new President is driven back to the White House, where he reviews the inaugural parade.

As soon as the new President has been installed, he is confronted with the problem of selecting his Cabinet and of filling a large number of minor places. In making appointments to Cabinet positions, the President usually attempts to have the different parts of the country fairly well represented. In all cases, he is supposed to select men with whom he can work harmoniously and who are willing to carry out the main lines of his policy. While the Cabinet officer's nomination must be confirmed by the Senate, as a matter of practice, the Senate always accepts the President's selection, so that in a sense the Cabinet may be regarded as his personal retinue on whom he can depend for cooperation and advice in making his administration successful.—*Extracts from "American Government and Politics," by Charles A. Beard.*

## The Presidents of the United States, 1789-1924—continued from page 330

### Andrew Jackson, 1767-1845.

Born, Union County, N. C. [called himself a South Carolinian]; *Paternal Ancestry*, Irish; *Education*, Meagre, Informal; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Soldier; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (2) 1829-1837: 21, 22, 23, 24 Congresses.

### Martin Van Buren, 1782-1862.

Born, Kinderhook, N. Y.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Dutch; *Education*, Local Schools. Admitted to the bar 1803; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Reformed Dutch; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (1) 1837-1841: 25, 26 Congresses.

### William Henry Harrison, 1773-1841.

Born, Berkeley, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Hampden-Sidney College; *Vocation*, Soldier and Farmer; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Whig; *Term*: (1 mo.) Mar.-Apr., 1841: 27 Congress.

### John Tyler, 1790-1862.

Born, Greenway, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, William and Mary College; *Vocation*, Soldier, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (3 Yrs., 11 mos.) Apr. 6, 1841-Mar. 3, 1845: 27, 28 Congresses. Succeeded to Presidency on death of Mr. Harrison.

### James Knox Polk, 1795-1849.

Born, Macklenburg County, N. C.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch-Irish; *Education*, University of North Carolina; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (1) 1845-1849: 29, 30 Congresses.

### Zachary Taylor, 1784-1850.

Born, Orange County, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Informal; *Vocation*, Soldier; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Whig; *Term*: (1 Yr., 4 mo.) Mar. 5, 1849-July 9, 1850: 31 Congress.

### Millard Fillmore, 1800-1874.

Born, Cayuga County, N. Y.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Informal; *Vocation*, Tailor, Lawyer; *Religion*, Unitarian; *Politics*, Whig; *Term*: (2 yrs., 7 mos.) 1850-1853: 31, 32 Congresses. Succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Mr. Taylor.

### Franklin Pierce, 1804-1869.

Born, Hillsboro, N. H.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Bowdoin College; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Orator; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (1) 1853-1857: 33, 34 Congresses.

### James Buchanan, 1791-1868.

Born, Franklin County, Pa.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch-Irish; *Education*, Dickinson College; *Vocation*, Lawyer; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Term*: (1) 1857-1861: 35, 36 Congresses.

### Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865.

Born, Laure County, Ky.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Informal; *Vocation*, Farmhand, Lawyer; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Republican; *Term*: (4 yrs., 1 mo.) 1861-1865: 37, 38, 39 Congresses.

### Andrew Johnson, 1808-1875.

Born, Raleigh, N. C.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Informal; *Vocation*, Tailor, Statesman; *Religion*, Methodist; *Politics*, Republican; *Term*: (3 yrs., 10 mos.) Apr. 15, 1865-1869: 39, 40 Congresses. Succeeded to the Presidency on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln.

### Ulysses Simpson Grant, 1822-1885.

Born, Point Pleasant, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch; *Education*, West Point; *Vocation*, Soldier; *Religion*, Methodist; *Politics*, Republican; *Term*: (2) 1869-1877: 41, 42, 43, 44 Congresses.

### Rutherford Birchard Hayes, 1822-1893.

Born, Delaware, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch; *Education*, Kenyon College; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Philanthropist; *Religion*, Methodist; *Politics*, Republican; *Term*: (1) 1877-1881: 45, 46 Congresses.

### James Abram Garfield, 1831-1881.

Born, Orange, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, William's College; *Vocation*, Teacher, Lawyer, Soldier, Statesman; *Religion*, Campbellite (Disciples); *Politics*, Republican; *Term*: (6 mos.) Mar. 4-Sept. 19, 1881: 47 Congress.

**Chester Alan Arthur, 1830-1886.**

Born, Fairfield, Vt.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch-Irish; *Education*, Union College; *Vocation*, Teacher, Lawyer; *Religion*, Episcopalian; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (3 yrs., 3 mo.) 1881-1883: 47, 48 Congresses. Succeeded to Presidency on assassination of Mr. Garfield.

**Grover Cleveland, 1837-1908.**

Born, Caldwell, N. J.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Academic schooling; *Vocation*, Teacher, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Terms* (2) 1885-1889, 49, 50 Congresses; 1893-1897: 53-54 Congresses.

**Benjamin Harrison, 1833-1901.**

Born, North Bend, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Miami University; *Vocation*, Lawyer, Statesman; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (1) 1889-1893: 51, 52 Congresses.

**William McKinley, 1843-1901.**

Born, Niles, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch-Irish; *Education*, Poland Academy and Alleghany College; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Methodist; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (2) (4 yrs., 6 mo.) 1897-1901: 55, 56, 57 Congresses.

**Theodore Roosevelt, 1858-1919.**

Born, New York City; *Paternal Ancestry*, Dutch; *Education*, Harvard; *Vocation*, Explorer, Publicist, Statesman; *Religion*, Reformed Dutch; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (7 yrs., 5 mo.) Sept. 14, 1901-1909: 57, 58, 59, 60 Congresses. Succeeded to the Presidency on the assassination of Mr. McKinley.

**William Howard Taft, 1857.**

Born, Cincinnati, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Yale and Cincinnati Law School; *Vocation*, Jurist, Statesman; *Religion*, Unitarian; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (1) 1909-1913: 61, 62 Congresses.

**Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924.**

Born, Staunton, Va.; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch-Irish; *Education*, Princeton, University of Virginia; *Vocation*, Educator, Author and Statesman; *Religion*, Presbyterian; *Politics*, Democrat; *Terms* (1) 1913-1921: 63, 64, 65, 66 Congresses.

**Warren Gamaliel Harding, 1865-1923.**

Born, Blooming Grove, Morrow County, Ohio; *Paternal Ancestry*, Scotch; *Education*, Ohio Central College; *Vocation*, Editor, Publisher and Statesman; *Religion*, Baptist; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* (2 yrs., 8 mo.) Mar. 4, 1921-Aug. 2, 1923: 67 Congress.

**Calvin Coolidge, 1872.**

Born, Plymouth, Vt.; *Paternal Ancestry*, English; *Education*, Amherst College; *Vocation*, Lawyer and Statesman; *Religion*, Congregationalist; *Politics*, Republican; *Terms* Aug. 3, 1923-: 68 Congress. Succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Mr. Harding.

\* The forerunner of the present Democratic Party.

† Believer in Christianity, although not a sectarian (Randall).

‡ At this time political parties were not defined. Claimed to be Republican, but doctrines were Federalist. Opposite to his administration took the name of Democrats and elected [Wilson].

§ Christian believer, not a church-member. Wife a Methodist.

**Republican Platform—continued from page 342**

then the attempt to destroy their trust in the great body of their public servants.

The Republican Administration has already taken charge of the prosecution of official dereliction and it will continue the work of discovery and punishment, but it will not confuse the innocent with the guilty nor digress for partisan advantage from the strict enforcement of the law.

**Law and Order**

*Law and Order*—Every Government depends upon the loyalty and respect of its citizens. Violations of law weaken and threaten government itself. No honest government can condone such actions on the part of its citizens. The Republican Party pledges the full strength of the Government for the maintenance of these principles by the enforcement of the Constitution and of all laws.

**Government Publications of General Interest—continued from page 357****Horticulture**

APPLE-ORCHARD RENOVATION; by H. P. Gould. (*Farmers' Bulletin* 1284, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

Fertilizers and manures for apple trees, pruning, etc.

THE NATIVE PERISHMON; by W. F. Fletcher. (*Farmers' Bulletin* No. 685, reprint.) Price, 5 cents.

Botanical classification, natural distribution, possibilities of improvement, cultivation, diseases and insect pests.

**Ore Deposits**

GEOLOGY AND ORE DEPOSITS OF THE MANHATTAN DISTRICT, NEVADA; by Henry G. Ferguson. (*Geological Survey Bulletin* No. 723) Price, 50 c. v. s.

General geology, tertiary rocks, economic geology, mines and prospects, etc., with index, and illus.

**Paint**

EMISSIVE TESTS OF PAINTS FOR DECREASING OR INCREASING HEAT RADIATION FROM SURFACES; by W. W. Coblenz and C. W. Hughes. (*Standards Bureau Technologic Paper* No. 254) Price, 5 cents.

Methods of testing emissivity, paints of metal flakes for decreasing thermal radiation from under side of canopies, paints of nonmetallic particles for increasing thermal radiation, with summary.

**Poultry**

FEEDING HENS FOR EGG PRODUCTION; by Alfred R. Lee. (*Farmers Bulletin* No. 1067, reprint) Price, 5 cents.

Proper feeding, grains and their by-products, balanced rations, egg-laying hens, methods of feeding, grain consumed in producing a dozen eggs.

NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL INCUBATION OF HENS' EGGS; by Alfred R. Lee. (*Farmers Bulletin* No. 1363) Price, 5 cents.

Selection and care of eggs for hatching, period of incubation, testing eggs, cause of poor hatches, disinfecting incubators, with summary.

**Women**

*Women Delegates*—We extend our greeting to the women delegates who for the first time under Federal authorization sit with us in full equality. The Republican Party from the beginning has espoused the cause of woman suffrage, and the presence of these women delegates signifies to many here the completion of a task undertaken years ago. We welcome them not as assistants or as auxiliary representatives, but as co-partners in the great political work in which we are engaged and we believe that the actual partnership in party councils should be made more complete.

**Constitutional Guarantees**

*Constitutional Guarantees*—The Republican Party reaffirms its unyielding devotion to the Constitution and to the guarantees of civil, political and religious liberty therein contained.—*Excerpt.*

TURKEY RAISING; by Morley A. Jull, and Alfred R. Lee. (*Farmers' Bulletin* No. 1409.) Price, 5 cents.

Turkey industry, varieties, standard weights, selecting breeding stock, incubating eggs, marketing, etc.

**Public Health**

FINAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF 1924 PUBLIC HEALTH SUMMER SCHOOLS. (U. S. Public Health Service) Price, 15 cents.

Advisory committee on education of sanitarians, deans of summer sessions and directors of public health summer schools, local addresses, origin and aim, opportunities for a life career in field of public health, etc.

**Radio**

SOME METHODS OF TESTING RADIO RECEIVING SETS; by J. L. Preston and L. C. F. Horla. (*Standards Bureau Technologic Paper* No. 256) Price, 10 cents.

Inspections, laboratory tests, operation, with appendix.

**Stoves**

REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION ON HOUSE FURNISHINGS INDUSTRIES; Vol. II, Household Stoves. Price, 20 cents.

Prices and profits, retailers', wholesalers', and manufacturers' prices, competitive conditions, with list of text tables and charts.

**U. S. Treasury Decisions**

TREASURY DECISIONS UNDER CUSTOMS AND OTHER LAWS, Vol. 44, July-December, 1923. Price, \$1.50.

Treasury decisions nos. 3917 to 3993, G. A. 8667 to 8722, Abstracts 46158 to 46678.

**Water-Gas**

CEMENT DIRECT BETHELMOUTH COALS AS WATER-GAS GENERATOR; by W. W. Odell and W. A. Dunkley. (*Mines Bureau Publication* No. 203.) Price, 15 cents.

Principles of water-gas manufacture, operation with low-calorific fuels, suggestions for operating with coal fuel, with tables and illus.

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